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# **The Dial**

*Of this supplementary volume, printed  
in connection with the Rowfant reprint  
of "The Dial," one hundred and  
twenty-seven copies have been issued,  
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**An Historical and Biographical  
Introduction to Accompany**

**The Dial**

**As Reprinted in Numbers for  
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**George Willis Cooke**

**In Two Volumes  
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# Historical and Biographical Introduction to The Dial

## I

### CHRISTOPHER PEARSE CRANCH

A FREQUENT contributor to "The Dial" in the first two volumes was Christopher P. Cranch, preacher, poet, and artist. In the first volume he printed poems entitled "To the Aurora Borealis" "Stanzas" (afterwards called "Gnosis"), "Endymion," "The True in Dreams," "Correspondences," "Color and Light," "My Thoughts," "The Riddle," and "The Ocean." He also contributed prose articles on "Signs from the West," "Musings of a Recluse," and "Glimmerings." In the second volume his poems were: "The Blind Seer," "Inworld," "Outworld," "Silence and Speech;" and in the third volume there was a poem called "The Artist." All these poetical contributions from Cranch's muse, except "The True in Dreams," were published in his "Poems," issued in Philadelphia, by Carey and Hart, in 1844. The volume was dedicated to Emerson, "as an imperfect testimony of regard and grateful admiration."

Cranch was born at Alexandria, D. C., afterwards in Virginia, March 3, 1815. His father was William Cranch, chief judge of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia, and an eminent jurist. The family was from Quincy, Mass., and was connected with John Adams, of that town. Cranch graduated at Columbian College, Washington, in 1831, and from the Harvard Divinity School in 1835. He preached in several New England pulpits for brief periods, and then

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in Kentucky and Illinois. For a short time he was associated with James Freeman Clarke in editing "The Western Messenger." He was not ordained, and was never settled over a church. About 1842 he left the ministry, and took up the study and profession of painting. He located in New York, and landscape painting was his chief interest. In company with George William Curtis he went to Italy in 1846, and there he remained until 1848 pursuing his art studies. He then returned to New York, but he lived and painted in Paris from 1853 to 1863. In the pursuit of his profession he frequently visited Fontainebleau, as well as Italy and Switzerland. He often exhibited his pictures in the Salon at Paris, and they were highly commended. He devoted himself to his profession in New York, after 1863, being made a member of the National Academy of Design, the Water Color Society, and the Artist Fund Society. In 1872 he removed to Cambridge, where he lived until his death, January 20, 1892.

Cranch was a frequent writer of poems, essays, review articles, and correspondence, which were published in the leading newspapers and magazines. In 1856 he published "The Last of the Huggermuggers, a Giant Story;" and in 1857, "Kobboltozo," a sequel to "The Last of the Huggermuggers." These were delightful children's books, of somewhat the same character as "Alice in Wonderland." They were very popular in their day, and those now living who read them in childhood speak of them in the highest terms of praise. Cranch's chief literary interest, however, was as a poet; and he frequently wrote for "The Harbinger," "The Present," "Dwight's Journal of Music," "Putnam's Magazine," "The Galaxy," "Harper's Monthly," and "The Atlantic Monthly," as well as for other periodicals. After his thin volume of "Poems," in 1844, his first poetical work was a translation of the "Æneid" into blank verse, published in 1872. Then followed, in 1874, his "Satan, a Libretto." In

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1874 appeared "The Bird and the Bell, and other Poems ;" and in 1887, "Ariel and Caliban, with other Poems." He later translated Virgil's "Eclogues and Georgics," a part of the "Odes" of Horace, and a number of the poems of Schiller; but many of his manuscripts, chiefly translations, as yet remain unpublished.

He was a zealous student of nature, and in many of his poems this interest shows itself. He was also lovingly devoted to the pursuit of art. His chief paintings are "October Afternoon," 1867; "Washington Oak, opposite Newburg, N. Y.," 1868; "Val de Moline," "Amalfi, Italy," 1869; "Roman Citizen," "Forest of Fontainebleau," "Neapolitan Fisherman," 1870; "Venetian Fishing-Boats," 1871. He gave to his work the devotion of a genuine artist, but he never gained the highest reputation in this field of effort. He is best known as a poet, and some of his poems deserve a lasting fame. In his "History of American Literature" Richardson has spoken of Cranch's "Gnosis" as going "straight to the heart of the whole matter" of transcendentalism. That poem condenses transcendentalism into the briefest space, and it is one of the best of the many poems "The Dial" published. Poe gave one of his friendliest notices to Cranch, saying that he was "one of the least intolerable of the school of Boston transcendentalists," and that he was "one of the most noted and undoubtedly one of the least absurd contributors to 'The Dial'." While severely criticizing Cranch for being affected and bizarre, Poe also says: "He seems to me to possess unusual vivacity of fancy and dexterity of expression, while his versification is remarkable for its accuracy, vigor, and even for its originality of effect." Cranch was possessed of considerable poetical ability, and he was read with much admiration by those who were in sympathy with transcendentalism.

The work of Cranch as a poet was appreciated by his fellow-transcendentalists, and they gave him the praise

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which was justly his due. Dr. F. H. Hedge said of him as a poet: "If genuine poetic feeling, sensibility to all that is poetic in nature and thought constitutes a poet, Mr. Cranch should rank high — none higher — among American poets. He possesses in rare measure what may be termed the poetic soul. He combines with poetic feeling a good degree of technical skill. He is an accomplished versifier; there is no slovenliness in his composition, no halting in his numbers. In every metre he attempts, he seizes its proper law and satisfies its requirements." Not less appreciative is the word of George William Curtis: "His work shows the graceful play of imagination, the sense of melody, the susceptibility to nature, the wayward variety of mood, which distinguish the poetic temperament; but more than that it reveals the natural singer, whose heart is always young, and for whom the glory never passes away from earth. There is also the same earnest thought, the curious questioning mind that challenges the great mystery which enfolds us."

In his first volume of poems Cranch showed himself a genuine transcendentalist. This was especially apparent in "Gnosis," first printed in "The Dial." This is one of the few poems in which the spiritual philosophy found a perfect statement.

"Thought is deeper than all speech,  
Feeling deeper than all thought;  
Souls to souls can never teach  
What unto themselves was taught.

"We are spirits clad in veils;  
Man by man was never seen;  
All our deep communing fails  
To remove the shadowy screen.

"Heart to heart was never known!  
Mind with mind did never meet;  
We are columns left alone,  
Of a temple once complete."

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This is a perfect statement of individualism, or what has been called the atomic theory of the soul. It is in the strongest contrast to the social theory of the origin and nature of the human mind, now so often asserted. That Cranch could accept the transcendental theory with so vigorous an emphasis shows that he found light and warmth in it. Another "Dial" poem in which this philosophy appears was "Correspondences":

"All things in nature are beautiful types to the soul that can read them ;

Nothing exists upon earth, but for unspeakable ends,  
Every object that speaks to the senses was meant for the spirit ;  
Nature is but a scroll ; God's handwriting thereon."

In his later poetry Cranch remained true to the ideals of his youth, as may be seen in "The Mountain Path":

"What the soul needs,  
It takes to itself, — aromas, sounds, and sights,  
Beliefs and hopes ; finds star-tracks through the nights,  
And miracles in weeds ;

"Grows unawares  
To greatness, through small help and accidents,  
Puzzling the pedagogue Routine, whose tents  
It leaves for manlier cares.

"And by the light  
Of some great law that shines on passing facts,  
Some nobler purpose blending with our acts,  
We read our tasks aright ;

"And gain the trust  
That knowledge is best wealth. So shall the ends  
Crown the beginnings. He who wisely spends,  
Gathers the stars as dust."

In another of his poems the more affirmative nature of his belief presents itself, and it shows his deeper religious convictions :

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### I IN THEE, AND THOU IN ME

I am but clay in Thy hands, but Thou art the all-loving artist.

Passive I lie in Thy sight, yet in my selfhood I strive  
So to embody the life and the love Thou ever impartest,  
That in my sphere of the finite I may be truly alive.

Knowing Thou needest this form, as I Thy divine inspiration,  
Knowing Thou shapest the clay with a vision and purpose divine,  
So would I answer each touch of Thy hand in its loving creation,  
That in my conscious life Thy power and beauty may shine,

Reflecting the noble intent Thou hast in forming thy creatures ;  
Waking from sense into life of the soul, and the image of Thee ;  
Working with Thee in Thy work to model humanity's features  
Into the likeness of God, myself from myself I would free.

One with all human existence, no one above or below me ;  
Lit by Thy wisdom and love, as roses are steeped in the morn ;  
Growing from clay to a statue, from statue to flesh, till Thou know me ;  
Wrought into manhood celestial, and in Thine image re-born.

So in Thy love will I trust, bringing me sooner or later  
Past the dark screen that divides these shows of the finite from  
Thee.

Thine, Thine only, this warm dear life, O loving Creator !  
Thine the invisible future, born of the present, must be.

It cannot be claimed for Cranch that he was a great poet, or even that he was a great painter, though it was as a poet in color that his chief work was done. His profession was that of a painter, and to that his heart was given. His work as a poet was incidental, though it claimed much of his thought and feeling. He was a larger man than painter or poet, stronger of thought, wiser to live, and of a braver heart. He was one of the most genuine of men, — modest, faithful, sincere, and free of spirit.

## II

### THE EMERSON FAMILY

THERE were published in "The Dial" several selections from the writings of members of Emerson's family. The poem printed in the first number as "The Last Farewell" was written by his brother, Edward Bliss Emerson. It was included by Emerson in his "May-Day," in 1867, and also in his "Parnassus." In the first number of "The Dial" appeared "Notes from the Journal of a Scholar," selected from the writings of Charles Chauncy Emerson, the youngest of the Emerson brothers. In the first number of the fourth volume these "Notes" were continued. In the last number of the third volume was printed "A Leaf from a Voyage to Porto Rico," also written by Charles Emerson. On page 72 of the first number was printed a poem entitled "Lines," and in the third number was a short poem on "The Violet." These were written by Ellen Louisa (Tucker) Emerson, the first wife of R. W. Emerson.

Edward Bliss Emerson was born in Boston, April 17, 1805. He was ready to enter Harvard at the age of thirteen. Owing to money considerations his entrance was deferred, and ill health took him to the south for a winter. In 1820 he entered Harvard, and graduated at the head of his class in 1824. He immediately began the study of the law, and at the same time taught school, as he had done in his vacations while in college. This school was in the town of Roxbury, and he continued in it until the autumn of 1825. His health having become imperfect, he took a voyage to the Mediterranean, and spent a year in Europe. On his return he entered the office of Daniel Webster, and became the



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tutor of Webster's children at the same time. He read law, taught four boys, devoted several hours a day to historical and miscellaneous study, did cataloguing for the Boston Athenæum, and was ready for other tasks when they offered. His health gradually failed under this strain, and in the spring of 1828 he was seriously ill, and had a violent attack of insanity. From this he quickly recovered, but his health did not return, the mainspring of his life having been broken. He was compelled to renounce his studies and his ambitions, and to exile himself in Porto Rico, where he obtained a clerkship on a small salary. There he was cheerful and even gay, and endeared himself to all about him; but he died suddenly of consumption on October 1, 1834.

Emerson said of his brother, "Edward and I as boys were thrown much together in our studies, for he stood always at the top of his class, and I at the foot of mine." He wrote of him as "the admired, learned, eloquent, striving boy," and also said of him: "My brother lived and acted and spoke with preternatural energy." In his "In Memoriam" Emerson wrote of this "brother of the brief but blazing star," and described his grace, eloquence, honorable bearing, and devoted scholarship. He sang —

"Of the rich inherent worth,  
Of the grace that on him shone,  
Of eloquent lips, of joyful wit:  
He could not frame a word unfit,  
An act unworthy to be done."

According to Edward Waldo Emerson, his father had for his brother Edward "a romantic admiration, for he saw in him qualities that he missed in himself. Edward was handsome, graceful, had a military carriage, and had been an officer in the college company; he had confidence and executive ability, great ambition, and an unsleeping, goading conscience that would never let him spare himself. He was eloquent, but his speech had a lofty and almost scornful

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tone." This admiration was reciprocated, for when some one spoke to Edward of the sensation he produced by his college dissertations, he said of his brother Waldo: "Yes, they say much of me, but I tell them that the real lion of the tribe of Judah is at home."

An experienced teacher, who was a pupil of Edward Emerson when he had a school in Roxbury, said of him: "Oh, what a teacher Edward Emerson was! I have had the supervision of schools the most of my life. I have been familiar with numberless teachers, and have seen what some of the best of them have been and done. I have had reason to hold very many in love and honor as models of high-toned character, and admirable service in their vocation. Yet none of them have approached the transcendent reality which made Edward Bliss Emerson a gift of God to those he taught. With conscientious devotion he threw his whole being into the work. He regarded every child committed to his charge as an immortal jewel which he was to free from defiling dross, and fashion and polish for eternity. So while with vast intellectual grasp and ambitions he was earnest for our mental progress, he was far more concerned to build up, on an enduring foundation, the structure of a noble character; and there was, withal, the display of a tender sympathy and cheery encouragement which won our hearts. He had just graduated from Harvard, and was a model of manly beauty of the highest type in form and feature. His face was the mirror of his inward being. Immaculate purity of soul, intellectual greatness, exquisite refinement of feeling, and tenderest sensibility, were all engaged in limning its wonderful attractions."

Charles Chauncy Emerson was born in Boston, November 27, 1808, and graduated at Harvard in 1828. In a personal letter Edward Waldo Emerson says of the Emerson boys, William, Waldo, Edward, and Charles, when they visited Concord at holiday and vacation times: "As boys they all

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came to their grandmother's at the Manse, and Dr. Ezra Ripley could hardly have been kinder or more indulgent to them had they been his own, instead of his step-grandsons. There they were enthusiastically welcomed by young and old. These city boys roamed and dreamed and recited their poetry in the woods near by and along the river-banks. Not only in 'The Dirge,' but in the little poem, 'Peter's Field,' printed in the appendix to the 'Poems,' my father tells of their enchanted days there. All of them, I think (I am not sure of Charles), in turn helped as under-teachers and prepared for college at the school of their kind uncle, Samuel Ripley, in Waltham. Edward was the more serious and ambitious, Charles the more gay. Father was very proud of Edward's bearing and gait and courage, as well as his eloquence and scholarship. Edward and Charles were both greatly admired and loved by their classmates. Much was made of declamation in those days, and rhetoric and eloquent delivery so highly prized that apparently a great part of the students went to hear the seniors declaim, as they would now to see the team practise foot-ball. Often and often I have heard my father tell of Edward's and Charles's speaking, especially Edward's. In those days it was Charles and Edward in whom the brilliant promise was thought to lie, and the feeling seems to have been wide-spread."

Charles studied law for a time in the office of Daniel Webster, then he entered that of Samuel Hoar in Concord, and found a home with his brother Waldo. It was the fact that Charles had located in Concord that induced his brother to make that town his place of residence. Charles became engaged to marry Elizabeth Hoar, the daughter of his mentor in the law, and the sister of George F. and Ebenezer R. He entered the regular work of his profession, was soon to be married, when a drive to Cambridge to attend court gave him a cold that led into quick consumption, and to his death, May 9, 1836. Emerson's plan to join his brother's house-

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hold with his own in his ample Concord house was thus frustrated, and he mourned greatly. "I have felt in him the inestimable advantage," he wrote, "of finding a brother and a friend in one. My brother, my friend, my ornament, my joy and pride has fallen by the wayside,—or rather has risen out of this dust. Beautiful without parallel in my experience of young men was his life; happiest his death." To his wife he wrote immediately after the death of Charles: "A soul is gone, so costly and so rare that few persons were capable of knowing its price, and I shall have my sorrow for myself; for if I speak of him I shall be thought a fond exaggerator. He had the fourfold perfection of good sense, of genius, of grace, and of virtue as I have never seen them combined. I determined to live in Concord, as you know, because he was there; and now that the immense promise of his maturity is destroyed, I feel not only unfastened, but a sort of shame at living at all."

To many persons who knew Charles Emerson his brother would have been thought no "fond exaggerator," however great his praise of that brother's excellences. For instance, in a personal letter Senator Hoar writes of him: "I suppose his was the most brilliant intellect of any person ever born in New England, if you may trust the testimony of so many authorities whose point of view is very different. His brother Waldo, although eleven years older, said of him that he looked to him as to a master, and that he was the only person who made Shakespeare seem possible to him. Daniel Webster, in whose office he studied, said, when he was consulted where he should settle, that it made no difference where he settled. If he opened an office in the midst of the backwoods in Maine, the clients would throng after him. Dr. Channing said of him, when he died, that all New England mourned his loss; and Edward Everett delivered a eulogy upon him at a Phi Beta Kappa dinner, which, I hope, will be brought to light if the long-delayed duty of writing

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a memoir of Everett shall ever be performed and his papers shall be published. When it is remembered that Charles Emerson died at about twenty-seven years, when he had scarcely begun the practice of his profession, you will perhaps be inclined to agree that my estimate of him is not a fond exaggeration."

In his "Metrical Essay on Poetry," delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa of Harvard only a few months after Charles Emerson's death, Dr. O. W. Holmes paid him a noble tribute, beginning:

"Thou calm, chaste scholar! I can see thee now,  
The first young laurels on thy pallid brow."

In his tribute to Emerson, after his death, Dr. Holmes spoke again of Charles Emerson as one he had known and admired. "A beautiful, high-souled, pure, exquisitely delicate nature, in a slight but finely wrought mortal frame, he was for me the very ideal of an embodied celestial intelligence. I may venture to mention a trivial circumstance, because it points to the character of his favorite reading, which was likely to be guided by the same tastes as his brother's, and may have been specially directed by him. Coming into my room one day, he took up a copy of Hazlitt's *British Poets*. He opened it to the poem of Andrew Marvell's, entitled 'The Nymph Complaining for the Death of her Fawn,' which he read to me with delight irradiating his expressive features. The lines remained with me, or many of them, from that hour; I felt as many have felt after being with his brother Ralph Waldo, that I had entertained an angel visitant. The Fawn of Marvell's imagination survives in my memory as the fitting image to recall this beautiful youth, — a soul glowing like the rose of morning with enthusiasm, a character white as the lilies in its purity."

In his biography of Emerson Dr. Holmes also paid tribute to the brothers, and he quoted freely from some of the col-

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lege writings of Charles Emerson. What these young men were capable of may be understood in some degree from an account given of them by Ebenezer R. Hoar in his history of the Concord Lyceum. "They gave us loftier truths," he said of those who spoke there, "from sweeter lips than this generation knows. The only time I ever heard Edward Bliss Emerson speak in public was before the Concord Lyceum, when he delivered a lecture on the Geography of Asia, — a subject which, to the school-boy, sounded dry. He stood up in the hall over the old academy, with a large map with a painted outline of Asia upon it, with a wand in his hand, and entranced the attention of the audience. I remember now one line of that lecture. I remember that from hearing it fifty years ago, — the last line of a poetical quotation with which he closed, —

'And seek no other resting-place but heaven.'

Charles Chauncy Emerson's lecture on Socrates was the most stirring appeal to the young men which, at that time, they had ever heard, closing with the line, —

'God for thee has done his part, do thine.'

The tribute of Edward Everett to Emerson's brothers, mentioned above by Senator Hoar, has not been published. It will be given here from a copy of it in Everett's own handwriting, sent to Emerson, prefaced with his statement of the occasion of it, and followed by a note of his giving an incident from his acquaintance with the younger of the brothers. This eulogy appears to have produced a deep impression upon those who heard it, and it was remembered by them with fond appreciation.

"At the dinner of the Phi Beta Kappa Society on the 31st of August, 1837 — an oration having been pronounced in the morning before the Society by Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson — in reply to a complimentary toast by the Presi-

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dent of the Society, Mr. Justice Story, Mr. Everett made the following remarks, after some response to the toast:

"It was my intention, Sir, if an opportunity of addressing you was afforded me, to express the feelings, which I am sure I share with you and all our brethren, in reference to the entertainment which we have enjoyed in another place, where we have listened with delight to a strain of original remark and ingenious speculation, clothed in language the most exquisite, and uttered with a natural grace beyond the reach of art. You, Sir, however, have already done justice to this topic; and I am unfitted for enlarging upon it, by a rush of tender emotions which I will not endeavor to repress. You will the rather allow me to indulge their expression, as it has ever been one of the cherished duties of our Association to consecrate our academic gatherings to the recollections of the brethren we have lost, and to strengthen the bond of kindness toward survivors, by common tributes of affection to the departed.

"I cannot, Sir, while the music of the orator's voice still vibrates in my ears, forget that, in times not long past, and within the classic precincts of Harvard, I listened on more than one occasion to the voice of two young men, — connected with him by the closest ties of kindred, — but scarcely less dear to such of us as had the happiness to know them well, each a much valued member of our fraternity, and, young as they both were, already recognized among the rising lights and hopes of our American republic of letters. Our Alma Mater — considering their age — never boasted nor deplored two gentler or brighter spirits than Edward Bliss Emerson and his brother, Charles Chauncy Emerson.

"My relation with the former was of the longest standing and somewhat more intimate. It was one of the kindest relations that can subsist between man and man, that of a pupil grown up to be a friend. He was of a very superior

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nature intellectually and morally. Although but a young man at the time of his decease, he had extended his reading far beyond ordinary professional limits. He had already laid a deep foundation for future eminence. The fervid action of a spirit touched to the finest issues proved an overmatch for a sensitive physical organization, and we were compelled to witness —

‘that noble and most sovereign reason,  
Like sweet bells jangled out of tune and harsh;  
That unmatched form and feature of blown youth,  
Blasted with ecstasy.’

He left his native land for a foreign country in search of health; but found a shorter path to that higher and purer sphere for which he was already mature.

“Charles Chauncy, by four years the junior, after an interval of four years, followed his brother to the grave. He too was a young man of most distinguished talent, of the most amiable disposition, and of a character in all respects as nearly faultless as belongs to the lot of humanity. He had completed his legal education in the Law School and was engaging in the practice of his profession, patient of delay and modestly confident of success. Life was opening upon him, radiant with its brightest promises, when suddenly and without the melancholy alleviation of a slow decline, he was cut down in the bloom of youth and hope:

‘Purpureus veluti cum flos succisus aratro  
Languescit moriens; lassove papavera collo  
Demisere caput, pluvia cum forte gravantur.’

“It is superfluous to say that I took the deepest and most affectionate interest in these young men, beholding them as I did in the pure and unsophisticated morning of life, rapidly unfolding every mental quality and every trait of character which can inspire confidence and win attachment. But I forbear; I feel that I ought not, on this festive occasion, to



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pursue further a subject of this kind. I trust, however, that I shall not be thought to overstep the limits of delicacy, if I complete this humble tribute to our departed brethren, and fulfil the more immediate purpose for which I rose, by asking you to join me in saying:—

“The orator of the day; the beauty of living excellence reveals to us the memory, but alleviates the loss of that which we deplore.

“Note. — Having a short time after Mr. Charles C. Emerson entered upon his profession, and was still awaiting practice, tendered him, at the request of a friend, an employment which held out considerable inducement as an immediate resource, he declined it in the following terms, strongly indicative of his early mature and well balanced mind: ‘I thank you, Sir, for your kindness in making me the offer of a situation which certainly has great advantages, and would by many be eagerly embraced. But I consider that the lines have fallen to me in pleasant places; and, although the prospect of a young lawyer is not altogether smooth and delightful, yet I believe my mind is made up to await patiently my fortunes in my profession.’ ”

When Emerson was preaching at Concord, N. H., in December, 1827, he met Ellen Louisa Tucker, whose father was a Boston merchant. She was then but seventeen, in feeble health, but very beautiful. They were married September, 30, 1829, and she died of consumption, February 8, 1831. She has been described as “a very beautiful and very lovely person,” and she reminded those who saw her of a delicate flower. Emerson mourned her death greatly, and it took him many months to recover from the shock of it. She wrote much graceful verse, but only the two poems that appeared in “The Dial” have been published.

A curious legend in connection with Emerson’s engagement to Ellen Tucker has been current in Concord, where it took place. How much truth there is in it, or how little

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it may be difficult to say ; but it is of interest as showing in some degree how he was regarded at that time. It is said that on the evening of the engagement he returned to his boarding-house, opened the door of the common sitting-room, and standing at the open door a moment, exclaimed, "Friends, I am engaged." Whereupon one of the guests said, "Let us pray." They all knelt down, and afterwards sang a hymn. So runs the pious tale.

Something may be said here of Elizabeth Hoar, the betrothed of Charles Emerson. She translated the lecture by Dr. Carus on the Nubian Pyramids, printed in the third number of the third volume of "The Dial." In his biography of Samuel Hoar, now published in his "Lectures and Biographical Sketches," Emerson gave an account of Hoar's visit to South Carolina, in 1844, and his expulsion from Charleston. He was accompanied on that occasion by his daughter Elizabeth, and it was doubtless owing to this fact that he was permitted to walk quietly through the city to the wharf without molestation, although a pro-slavery mob was ready to attack him. In a letter introducing Miss Hoar to Herman Grimm, Emerson described her as "a person in whom much culture has not weakened her strength or the delicacy of her native sentiment." In his journal Emerson wrote of her "admirable fairness" of mind, and added : "I think no one who writes or utilizes his opinions can possibly be so fair. She will see *nuances* of equity which you would never see if untold. She applied the Napoleon *mot*, 'Respect the burden,' so well to Lincoln *quoad* Wendell Phillips." He called her "Elizabeth the Wise," and wrote of her : "E. H. consecrates. I have no other friend I more wish to be immortal than she ; an influence I cannot spare, but must always have at hand for recourse." His biographer says Miss Hoar "was a sister to Emerson from the death of his brother Charles, to whom she was engaged to be married, and this intimate relation to one gifted as she was with an extraor-

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dinary fineness of perception, but whose constitutional reserve, equal to his own, would, but for this tie, have precluded intimacy, was a constant occasion of self-congratulation with him. Abundant sentiment without a touch of sentimentality, and an unswerving balance of mind joined with entire openness to ideas, made her a most valuable counterpoise to the eager idealists about him. She is the *confidante*, and as it were the touchstone, of his ideas; and many sentences in the 'Essays' are their mutual confidences."

In a personal letter Edward Waldo Emerson says: "Miss Elizabeth Hoar's life was one of beauty and beneficence, and she was an uplifting person to all who had the fortune to come near her. Her sympathies were active and most catholic; her taste and judgment sure, and her memory for all good things and about people was wonderful; and in that glass all looked fair and interesting. She was a good genius in Concord."

Over the grave of Elizabeth Hoar may be found the following admirable description of her, prepared by her brothers, George F. Hoar and E. Rockwood Hoar: "Her sympathy with what was high and fair brought her into intimacy with many eminent men and women of the time. Nothing excellent or beautiful escaped her frank apprehension, and in her unfailing memory precious things lay in exact order as in a royal treasury, hospitably ready to instruct and delight young and old. Her calm courage and simple, religious faith triumphed over weakness and pain; and, when death transplanted her to her place in the Garden of the Lord, he found little perishable to prune away."

Elizabeth Hoar was not a literary person, or even a student in any systematic manner. She wrote a biography of Mrs. Sarah Ripley, a member of the transcendental club, for the "Worthy Women of our First Century," published in 1876. She also put into verse the story of George

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Nidiver, which she heard in California, and which Emerson gave a place in his lecture on "Courage," in "Society and Solitude," and in "Parnassus." It is so simple and eloquent a story of courage and heroism that it has been placed in many school-readers.

### III

#### JOHN SULLIVAN DWIGHT

ONE of the most enthusiastic of transcendentalists was John S. Dwight, a Unitarian minister without a pulpit at the time of the origin of Hedge's club. He was settled over the Unitarian Church in Northampton for a year and a half in 1840 and 1841, then joined the Brook Farm association, and did not preach again. In the first number of "The Dial" appeared an article from his pen called "The Religion of Beauty," which he had, in fact, more than once used as a sermon. It was followed by a poem from his pen, which has been often printed with the title "Rest." It has had the merit of being attributed to Goethe, and though it has been repeatedly shown that it was written by Dwight, it is even yet quoted as from the German poet. In the first number also was published "The Concerts of the Past Winter," Dwight's report of the music of Boston during the season of 1839-40. In the third and fourth numbers was printed another sermon, the subject being "Ideals of Everyday Life."

Writing to Dwight after the first number of "The Dial" had appeared, Ripley said to him: "Pray send us the remainder of that homily on 'The Church at Work,' etc., or whatever you may have stronger and better. I like your 'Rest' still more in print than I did in MS. It is an exquisite expression of a noble and true thought. Your article on 'Concerts' is an atoning offering for the many sins of 'The Dial.' I do not fancy 'The Religion of Beauty' so much as I expected to do. It is unfinished. Almost every sentence promises something better than we

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get, and the sum total is a feeling of disappointment. Do give us some truly artistic product, be it ever so small. Your beautiful improvisations are a sin against your soul; and unless you repent and mend your ways, you will be damned when the day of judgment comes."

Dwight was so far interested in "The Dial" as to make some effort to extend its circulation, and he procured several subscribers in Northampton and Greenfield. Writing to one of his sisters concerning the third number, he indicated how greatly it pleased him. "'The Dial' I have nearly devoured since Sunday," he wrote. "It even clipped the borders of my sermon some, it was so irresistible a dainty. It is a splendid number; and I cannot but thank the good souls who wrote in it, they have given me so much of inward comfort and beautiful thoughts. You shall have it ere long."

Dwight was born in Boston, May 13, 1813, graduated at Harvard in 1832, and from the Divinity School in 1836. He was not successful as a preacher, and his brief settlement at Northampton was the only one he had. His transcendentalisms, and his lack of power as a public speaker, may account for his failure. A letter written by him after leaving Northampton may explain the effect upon him of transcendentalism, and one of the results it produced upon Emerson and several others, both in and out of the pulpit. As will be seen by this letter, it led men to discard the forms of religion, and to feel they were of no importance in comparison with the inward revelations of the soul. "I have doubts about the church," Dwight wrote. "I agree with Parker mainly as to the essence of Christianity. I disincline more and more to the forms, especially public prayer. I have less sympathy than I had with the prevailing spirit of the churches, and less hope of ever being able to mould the church and the profession to my idea, so that I could be true to my conviction while

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continuing in them ; and in this state of mind, while I cannot go heartily and with my whole soul into a pulpit, I feel that it would be false to do it at all, either from old habit or for the sake of the livelihood, or respectable connection which I might derive from it." In this abrupt and final withdrawal from the pulpit Dwight took quite another course than did Emerson, who continued for ten years to preach after he had given up his church in Boston.

Dwight had been intimately associated with Ripley in the beginning of the discussions which resulted in the establishment of Brook Farm, and when he left Northampton he became connected with that community in November, 1841. He was one of the leaders of the association from that time until it was broken up, standing next to Ripley and Dana in its management. In the school he was the teacher of Latin and music, and to the last subject he gave much attention, both in and out of the community. He was associated with Ripley in editing "The Harbinger," which was published at Brook Farm from 1844 to 1847, and then for two years in New York. After various newspaper connections, and much lecturing on music, especially the great German composers, Dwight began, in 1852, one of the ablest journals devoted to music ever published in this country, which he called "Dwight's Journal of Music," at the suggestion of Longfellow, and which he continued until 1881. He was largely instrumental in forming the Harvard Musical Association, with which he was intimately connected until his death, being the president for many years. He lived in the rooms of the Association, and there he died, September 5, 1893.

With the musical history of Boston Dwight was closely connected for half a century, and in every phase of its development during that time he took a prominent part. His criticisms were an important influence in forming musical taste in that city, though in his later years he was repelled

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by Wagner and the newer schools of composers, and his influence waned. He was closely associated, however, with the literary men and women of Boston, and he numbered all of them as his personal friends. His supporters in his work for music numbered almost every person in Boston noted in literature, music, reform, society, and business. Richard Grant White wrote to him, at the time the "Journal of Music" was discontinued: "There is not a musician of respectability in the country who is not your debtor." In the "Easy Chair" George William Curtis said: "To no one more than to him are we indebted for the intellectual taste which enjoys the best music." Dwight was one of the minor transcendentalists, but no one was more widely associated with all the members of that group of persons than he. He was an interesting writer, with a tendency to vagueness, and without the force essential to the highest results; but he applied his idealism in the appreciation of music with marked success, and his writings on this subject are worthy of a larger recognition than they have received.



## IV

### WILLIAM HENRY CHANNING

No one was more thoroughly in sympathy with the purposes and spirit of "The Dial" than William Henry Channing. He did not write much for its pages, because he was actively engaged with other enterprises, and because he was passing through a crisis in his own life at the time of its publication. In the first and second numbers appeared the first chapters of what he proposed should be a religious romance dealing with some of the theological and ecclesiastical problems of that day. It was meant especially to show why a lover of mental freedom could not join the Roman Catholic communion, even if he was of so ardent an interest in the aesthetic side of life as was Channing himself. In a letter to Margaret Fuller, written in Cincinnati, February 25, 1840, he gave an account of the proposed romance, of which only the two chapters published in "The Dial" appear to have been written.

"I received your letter with great joy," Channing wrote, "and have been so long withheld from answering it from no indifference as to the proposed publication. At the time it arrived my mind was entirely absorbed in some inquiries which I felt I must pursue to a termination before I could do anything else; and now that I am free, I am unaffectedly diffident as to my powers of accomplishing anything for you of much worth. I will, though, tell you of one prospect, that has been coming in glimpses and vanishing in shadows of my mind, this year or two. All feel the midnight of our present religious or irreligious era. We are all seekers. The idea occurred to me of taking a young man, and leading him

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through the chief sects, the Catholic, the Methodist, the Quakers, the Unitarians, drawing from each its lesson, which would be found, of course, in its spirit and guiding principles, not in its opinions; then guiding him to a love of Jesus in himself, thence to his own soul as the temple of the Spirit, and thence to life and society as the true sphere for his own development. I would call this spiritual hero Ernest (True, or) the Seeker; his search should be, first in sects, second in Scripture, third in the soul, and fourth in society. This would be a religious novelette; it might be printed in chapters, and its success would depend upon the amount and worth of my own experience. In some form or other, and at some time or other, I shall probably complete this plan; and if you think, coming piecemeal, it would suit the character of the unknown periodical, I do not know but I am ready to begin. Have no hesitation in saying nay, if head or heart so incline; for though I see plainly enough that such a plan offers a grand opportunity for representing various classes of character and the multiplied movements of mind in society around, and withal to utter one's own best thought, I do not feel wholly fitted, now, at least, for this work."

To the first number of the second volume Channing contributed a sketch entitled "Night and Day," and a series of notes which he called "Wheat Seed and Bolted Flour." The allegory entitled "Need of a Diver" was also from his pen. O. B. Frothingham wrote of "Night and Day," that it is "especially interesting as embodying his conception of the future man. The article is based on Michael Angelo's well-known statues in the Medici chapel at Florence, and contains an explanation of the unfinished state of the 'Dawn.' Man was not awake yet."

William Henry Channing was born in Boston, May 25, 1810. His father was Francis Dana Channing, the oldest brother of Dr. Channing, and a lawyer, who died the year of his son's birth. William Channing was educated under

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the auspices of his famous uncle, who largely met the expenses of it. He graduated from Harvard in 1829, and in 1833 from the Divinity School. After preaching in several places for brief periods, and spending a year in Europe, he was a minister-at-large in New York during the year 1837. In 1839 he went to Cincinnati as minister of the Unitarian church, but he remained there only two years. He wrote for and helped edit "The Western Messenger," and his contributions to "The Dial" were written during this period. He now passed through a period of critical mental and spiritual agitation, during which he questioned the fundamental truths of religion. The way in which he came out of this trying experience is described in the sketch of Elizabeth Peabody.

In 1842 Channing went to Brooklyn and preached for a short time, and in April of the next year he organized a Christian Union Church in New York, and had in his congregation such persons as Horace Greeley, Christopher Cranch, and Henry James. This movement was abandoned at the end of 1845, and the next year he preached at Brook Farm, and for Theodore Parker in West Roxbury. While in New York Channing edited "The Present," during 1843-44; and he discontinued it in order to write the biography of Dr. Channing, which was published in six volumes, in 1848, and was very popular. With the beginning of 1847 Channing organized in Boston The Religious Union of Associationists, to which he preached until 1850. Many of the members of Brook Farm, and other socialists, joined it, and the congregation was interested, and even enthusiastic. In 1849 Channing conducted an associationist journal called "The Spirit of the Age." He joined with Emerson and J. F. Clarke, in 1850, in preparing a biography of Margaret Fuller; and he not only wrote a part of it, but he was the editor of the whole. In 1853 he became the minister of the Unitarian church in Rochester, but in the autumn of the

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next year he withdrew, and a year later he went to Liverpool and settled over one of the leading Unitarian churches in that city.

During the Civil War Channing returned to the United States, and preached in Washington until 1865. He was the chaplain of Congress, labored in the hospitals, gave much of his time to the work of the Sanitary Commission and the Freedman's Bureau, and did valiant service in the cause of the union and for emancipation. He returned to England at the close of the war, preached for a time in London, and also in other places. In 1869 he gave before the Lowell Institute in Boston a course of twelve lectures on "The Progress of Civilization." A course on "The Laws of Human Life" was given before the Royal Institution of Great Britain, London, in 1871. He made several visits to the United States, lectured, preached, and talked, made a valiant effort to revive spiritual religion, and to inaugurate a new religious movement; but while he was gladly heard by many wherever he went, he had no gift for organization or for bringing his thought to bear definitely upon the facts of life. He was a great preacher and a saintly man, but he was visionary and impracticable. Emerson chose him as the one man good enough to baptize his children, and greatly admired his preaching. He was a most devoted transcendentalist, none more so; and one who lived in the realm of ideas and spiritual principles. He died December 23, 1884.

Frothingham said of William Channing, that he was supremely an idealist. "The ideal Church, the ideal State, the ideal Society, were ever before his fancy. Specific reforms seemed to him partial, incidental, fragmentary, unsatisfactory, as a patched garment. And yet no one was more faithful to the cause of anti-slavery, the rights of women, peace, temperance, and other reforms, than he. Their defects he overlooked, and what they promised was

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to him as a living reality, that commanded his enthusiasm and loyalty." Lydia Maria Child wrote of him, in 1865: "He is the same infinite glow that he was when he took my heart captive twenty years ago." That word describes him admirably, for he was always in an infinite glow of enthusiasm concerning whatever elicited his interest. "A most delightful man," wrote Theodore Parker truly of him, "full of the right spirit; a little diseased in the region of consciousness, but otherwise of the most remarkable beauty of character; full of good tendencies, of noblest aspirations; an eye to see the evils of society, a heart to feel them, a soul to hope better things; a willingness to endure all self-denial to accomplish the end whereto he is sent."

Although Channing was not at any time a member of the Brook Farm community, he was one of its most loyal friends. He was an associationist in the fullest sense, and believed thoroughly in Christian socialism, which he preached with enthusiasm and devotion. That he positively rejected the individualism of Emerson, Alcott, and Thoreau may be seen from two or three of his letters, for he was a socialist even in his philosophy, as he was in his religion. He admired and defended Emerson's address of 1838, but to him its defect was its failure to recognize the common life of humanity. Writing to Emerson, he said: "I have read with renewed interest, and several times reread, your address at the Theological School, and admit now, as I did when I heard it, that it says all that can be said from that point of view. It is a poem in its way. But I feel distinctly, my honored friend, in relation to this address, what I feel in relation to all that I have read of your writings, that there is one radical defect, which, like a wound in the bark, wilts and blights the leaf and bloom and fruit of your faith. You deny the Human Race. You stand, or rather seek to stand, a complete Adam. But you cannot do it."

## William Henry Channing

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In a letter to Theodore Parker about his "Discourse of Religion," Channing made the same criticism, although he expressed the greatest appreciation of the book. He found one radical defect in it, that it took account only of the individual, and ignored man in his social life. Channing expressed it as one of his deepest convictions "that the race is inspired as well as the individual; that humanity is a growth from the Divine Life as well as man; and indeed that the true advancement of the individual is dependent upon the advancement of a generation, and that the law of this is providential, the direct act of the Being of beings." He added that this was the ground of his Christian faith and of his reconciliation with the church. "The race is to me," he said, "a revelation of God more than any one man is, more than all separate men are." He said much more on the subject in his idealistic way; but his criticism of the individualism of Emerson and Parker was sound, as has been shown more and more clearly as the law of development has come into full recognition. Transcendentalism needs the correction he gave it. The highest products of human achievement, such as language, law, civilization, religion, and ethical development, are the results of social growth, and not of individual attainment. This is a truth of development overlooked by Emerson, and which Channing stated in clearest terms, albeit in the manner of the transcendentalist.

## V

### THEODORE PARKER

THEODORE PARKER was one of the most frequent and voluminous of the writers for "The Dial." He furnished contributions to ten of the sixteen numbers, and there were twelve of them in all, he having contributed two articles each to two numbers. Emerson said, in his "Historic Notes," that "some numbers had an instant exhausting sale because of papers by Theodore Parker." It was owing to Parker's vigorous theological polemics that this sale was secured, for he had obtained wide recognition not only by his religious radicalism, but by his strong anti-slavery attitude. He was incisive, uncompromising, clean-cut in statement and thought, and knew precisely what he wished to say. He was not a mystic or a seer, but a critic and a preacher. His moral earnestness, his passion for humanitarian reform, and his religion of freedom and individual insight made him attractive to many persons who did not care for the other writers in "The Dial."

To every number of the first volume of "The Dial" Parker furnished a contribution, and to all but one of the second volume. In the first number appeared an article on "The Divine Presence in Nature and in the Soul;" in the second, "A Lesson for the Day," and "Truth against the World: A Parable of Paul;" in the third, "German Literature;" and in the fourth, "Thoughts on Labor." To the first number of the second volume he contributed his paper on "The Pharisees," and also two poems called "Protean Wishes." Parker made many attempts at writing verse, but he did not often succeed. In this instance he did not

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rise above the level of the poorest contributions to "The Dial" in that kind. He did not have anything in the second number, but in the third was printed his article on "Primitive Christianity," and in the fourth, his "Thoughts on Theology," reviewing Dörner's Christology. The first and last numbers of the third volume had nothing from his pen, but in the second appeared his review of the Hollis Street Council, which attracted much attention, and in the third, his paper on "The Life and Character of Dr. Follen." He had but one article in the fourth volume, that in the second number reviewing Hennell on the "Origin of Christianity." Parker was in Europe from September, 1843, for a year, and this will doubtless account for his failure to write for the last volume of "The Dial" as often as he had for those preceding. Seven of Parker's contributions to "The Dial" were reprinted in his "Critical and Miscellaneous Writings," published in 1843; and these were "A Lesson for the Day," "German Literature," "Truth Against the World," "Thoughts on Labor," "The Pharisees," "Primitive Christianity," and "Thoughts on Theology."

Convers Francis wrote to Parker concerning his article on "German Literature": "Thanks, a hundred thanks, to you for your article in the last 'Dial,' — an article which has learning enough to make the fortune of a stout octavo, but in which the learning is far outdone by the riches of profoundly significant thought, and the beauties of exquisitely happy expression. Such pieces as this (but how few such can be expected) are just what is wanted to make 'The Dial' not only better than any other American journal (for this is not saying much), but equal to the best in Europe; it has that grasp of elaborate thought which takes up a subject with the easy power of a strong man: the whole mind moved to the composition of it. A friend said to me: 'If that article had appeared in the first number, it would at the outset have placed 'The Dial' triumphantly high, above



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all cavil.' I think so, too; and if the editors can in future furnish much such matter, they need not fear for their work that any 'Daily Advertiser' (which means a whole genus) can touch a hair of its head. The humor at the beginning is capital; and the noble defence of German literature which follows must strike our foolish babblers dumb, and enlighten the wisest. Are not the 'Thoughts on Art' [by Emerson] also admirable? They seem to me to contain in a few pages more profound and striking truth on this beautiful subject than I have seen in whole volumes. They may call Emerson superficial, if they will; but let them show us a better piece of æsthetical thinking than that if they can; and how delightfully it is all said!"

Writing to Margaret Fuller in 1841, probably early in the summer of that year, Parker said of his article on "The Pharisees" and his two poems published in the July number what is of interest as giving his own thought about them: "Touching the article, I think I shall finish it before Wednesday, for there are two working days, and still more, two working nights, 'twixt us and that time. My design was to have finished it on Saturday, and then come to perpetrate a long-contemplated visit upon you, Monday evening. But thought would not flow smooth, and I made small progress last week, for my brain was dull (I never write well when Mrs. Russell or Lydia are out of the neighborhood), and it would not go forward. Herewith I send you a couple of little bits of verse, which I confess to you, *sub rosa rosissima*, are mine. Now, I don't think myself made for a poet, least of all for an *amatory poet*. So, if you throw the 'lines' under the grate in your critical wisdom, I shall not be grieved, vexed, or ruffled; for though I have enough of the *irritabile* in my composition, I have none of the *irritabile vatis*."

At least two of Parker's articles in "The Dial" played their part in his controversy with the theologians of his day.

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His article on the "Pharisees" was understood by many to be aimed at his theological opponents of the Boston Association of Ministers; but this he distinctly denied, saying that he "meant no particular and definite persons or body of men, but aimed to expose sin and phariseeism wherever they were." The article on the Hollis Street Council was one of the most important documents in Parker's long controversy with the Unitarians of Boston. John Pierpont, the poet and reformer, minister of the Hollis Street (Unitarian) Church, at the south end of Boston, criticised the members of his congregation for their trade in rum, their friendliness to the slave power, and other personal and public sins, as he regarded them. An attempt was made to dismiss him from the church, and a council was called to bring about this result, which continued for many days, attracted wide-spread interest, and resulted in the triumph of Pierpont. This controversy brought Pierpont into disfavor with his ministerial brethren, and put him into the small group of radicals who were classed as Parkerites. Parker came to the defence of Pierpont, wrote this article in "The Dial," addressed a pamphlet letter to the Unitarian Association, and in various ways set forth the cause of religious freedom. In "The Dial" article Parker called the report of the Hollis Street Council a "Jesuitical document," and he reviewed its doings with scorn and contempt. This article formed a chief cause of offence on his part, that was discussed in the meeting of the Boston Association, and led to his virtual withdrawal from that organization. In his report of that meeting he gave an account of the discussion regarding his article in "The Dial." "The letter on the Hollis Street Council stood on different ground [from his article on the Pharisees], and there it was plain who was meant. I had nothing to alter or add to that. Some said, 'You called the result in council a Jesuitical document;' another, 'You brought together a great deal of

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matter about ecclesiastical councils, and about cowards, and knaves, and hypocrites. It meant somebody—I suppose it meant us. I did not read it carefully, for I disliked it so much. To be sure, you treated the writers of the New Testament in about the same way, and said the apostle St. James roars like a fanatic radical.' Then some one said, 'You quoted the words of somebody, "Expect no justice of the Council," as if you endorsed them.' I told him I did not endorse them; since, as the words of a great and wise man, they required no endorsement of mine. 'But you applied them as if you expected no justice.' 'I did so then, and do now. I expected no justice from the Council at the time. When I wrote I thought the result a most Jesuitical document—I think so still.' I then added that I did n't wish to write the article; asked others to do so; they refused. I consulted several persons, telling them the view I should express (three of them present—but I did not say so). They said, 'Go on.' I wrote carefully, deliberately, and conscientiously. I told one clergyman, who had no affinity with me—a man older than most of them, distinguished for good sense and piety—what I had said, before I published; he said, 'You are right; say it in God's name.' I read it to another, who had little theological affinity with me—he said, 'Well, it ain't much after all for you to write, and I have but this criticism to make, that you have been too severe on Mr. Pierpont, and not half severe enough on the Council.' Then said—, 'Well, Mr. Parker can't disown what he has said; if he is conscientious, as no doubt he is, we can't ask him to do so. I will say that I freely and from my heart forgive him, as I hope God Almighty will forgive me; but I can never grasp him by the hand again cordially.'"

This racy account of Parker's contention with his ministerial brethren makes it evident that "The Dial" had done an important service for him in printing his article on the

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Hollis Street Council. If his article sold the number in which it appeared, it is certain the advantage was not wholly on the side of the publisher. It has already been seen that Margaret Fuller did not fully endorse Parker's theological views or his methods, and the same was true of Emerson. Nevertheless, they gave him an opportunity to speak his word in "The Dial," and however they might differ from him they gave no sign of it in the pages of that periodical.

## VI

### SAMUEL GRAY WARD

ONE of Emerson's friends, who became a contributor to "The Dial" through his influence, was Samuel Gray Ward, son of Thomas Wren Ward, a Boston banker, for many years treasurer of the Boston Athenæum, and afterwards of Harvard College. The father was, in 1827, made the American agent of the banking house of Baring Brothers of London, and on his retirement many years later, the agency was continued in the hands of the son. It remained under his direction until 1887, first in Boston, but after 1862 in New York; and during this period of sixty years the agency was conducted with uniform wisdom and success.

Samuel Gray Ward was born in Boston, October 3, 1817, and graduated at Harvard in 1836. He then spent two years of travel in Europe under fortunate circumstances; and it was on his return, in 1838, that his acquaintance and friendship with Emerson began. He contributed six poems to "The Dial" and four prose articles. Four of the poems were printed in the first number, being the sonnet to W. Allston on seeing his painting called "The Bride," which was placed immediately after Margaret Fuller's article on the "Allston Exhibition;" the song on the next page; and the poems called "The Shield" and "Come Morir," placed before and after "The Problem" of Emerson. In the third number of the first volume appeared Ward's "Letters from Italy on the Representatives of Italy," which were devoted to the discussion of the influence of Boccaccio on Italian literature and character. Near the end of the second number of the third volume was printed a dialogue by Ward,

## Samuel Gray Ward

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called "The Gallery," which discussed the true principles of art. In the first number of the fourth volume appeared "Notes on Art and Architecture," and in the third number an article on the "Translation of Dante," reviewing T. W. Parsons' translation of the first ten cantos of "The Inferno." The last number contained "The Twin Loves" and "The Consolers," poems by Ward. Emerson included in his "Parnassus" "The Shield" and "The Consolers," but without Ward's name.

In a personal letter Ward says of his connection with "The Dial": "The only literary interest attaching to my name in this connection grows out of my early intimacy with the founders of 'The Dial,' — Margaret Fuller, whom I knew from 1835, and R. W. Emerson a year or two later; and with the other writers who made so great a name in the following decades. The thirty years and more of my active life were devoted to business, which left no time for literary work, even supposing that I had the literary gift, which, as it never manifested itself in such surroundings, may be doubted." However, Ward contributed an essay on "Criticism" to Miss Peabody's "Æsthetic Papers," and, in 1840, he published in Boston a volume of translations from Goethe, entitled "Essays on Art." It was at one time proposed that he should prepare a part of the memoirs of Margaret Fuller, which were finally written by Emerson, Clarke, and W. H. Channing. Higginson prints in his biography of her a letter to Ward, in which she speaks in glowing words of her interest in the various phases of nature.

Emerson found in Ward a devoted friend, and his letters to Ward have been edited by Professor Charles Eliot Norton as "Letters from Ralph Waldo Emerson to a Friend, 1838–1853." Norton says of these letters: "The letters and fragments of letters here printed are part of the early records of a friendship which, beginning when Emerson was thirty years old, lasted unbroken and cordial till his death. . . . The

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friend was younger than Emerson by nine years. At the beginning of their friendship he had lately returned from Europe, where he had spent a year and a half under fortunate conditions. The youth had brought back from the Old World much of which Emerson, with his lively interest in all things of the intelligence, was curious and eager to learn. His own genius was never more active or vigorous, and his young friend's enthusiasm was roused by the spirit of Emerson's teaching. . . . He did not fall into the position of a disciple seeking from Emerson a solution of the problems of life; but he brought to Emerson the highest appreciation of the things which Emerson valued, and knowledge of other things of which Emerson knew little but for which he cared much."

While in Europe Ward had devoted himself largely to the study of art, especially painting and architecture; and it was in this field of knowledge that Emerson learned most from his friend. In one of the earlier of the letters Emerson refers to a portfolio of sketches loaned him by his friend. Ward gave him one of these, and Emerson expressed his reluctance to separate it from "its godlike companions to put it where it must shine alone." In his "Ode to Beauty" Emerson refers to his art studies with Ward:

"I turn the proud portfolios  
Which hold the grand designs  
Of Salvator and Guecino,  
And Piranesi's lines."

The friends exchanged books, Emerson sending Thoreau's "Elegy," and his own essay on "Friendship." Concerning the latter he wrote: "I am just now finishing a chapter of friendship (of which one of my lectures last winter contained a first sketch) on which I would gladly provoke a commentary. I have written nothing with more pleasure, and the piece is already indebted to you and I wish to swell my

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obligations." This correspondence did not continue beyond 1853, doubtless in part because the friends often met for a number of years after that date. What the friendship was to Emerson is indicated by his saying in one of his letters: "The reason why I am curious about you is that with tastes which I also have, you have tastes and powers and corresponding circumstances which I have not and perhaps cannot divine."

In one of his letters to Carlyle, in 1843, Emerson wrote of Ward as "my friend and the best man in the city, and, besides all his personal merits, a master of all the offices of hospitality." In fact, Ward was eminently a clubbable man, and he was not only a member of the transcendental club, but of the Town and Country Club that succeeded it for a short time in 1849. He was also connected with the beginnings of the Saturday Club, the most prominent and successful of the literary clubs of Boston. Concerning its formation Richard Henry Dana, the younger, said: "The club had an accidental origin, in a habit of Emerson, Dwight, Whipple, and one or two more dining at Woodman's room at Parker's occasionally. Ward is a friend of Emerson's, and came." In one of his letters to Ward Emerson mentions his having invited Longfellow and Lowell to join the club, and their interest in it; also he speaks of Lowell's enthusiasm in regard to the publication of a magazine, "The Atlantic Monthly" finally being the result.

After his retirement from business, in 1887, Ward became a resident of Washington, where he is still living.



## VII

### AMOS BRONSON ALCOTT

ONE of those whose contributions to "The Dial" attracted most attention was A. B. Alcott, whose "Orphic Sayings" appeared in the first and third numbers. In the fourth number of the second volume was printed his "Days from a Diary," preceded by a letter from the author. The poem by Henry More, which appeared at the beginning of the second number of the second volume, was selected by Mr. Alcott. His contributions to "The Dial" were much satirized in the newspapers, and they were the subject of much cheap wit.

Amos Bronson Alcott was born in Walcott, Connecticut, November 29, 1799. He was a teacher in Cheshire, Boston, and Philadelphia; but he returned to Boston and opened the Temple School (in the Masonic Temple) September 22, 1834. In this school he adopted the Socratic method for the purpose of awakening the minds of the children put under his charge. It was his idea that the child will of himself discover the truth and become his own teacher, if his mind is rightly directed, and stimulated to its full activity. The school was closed in 1839 because of attacks upon it in the newspapers, and the consequent withdrawal of pupils. Miss E. P. Peabody gave a highly interesting account of the school and its methods in her "Record of a School" and "Conversations on the Gospels." The publication of the first of these books led to severe attacks upon it and its principal, and the second made it impossible to continue it with any degree of success.

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In 1840 Alcott removed to Concord, and in the summer of 1842 he visited England. In the summer of 1843 Fruitlands had its existence in an attempt to establish family life as the basis of a reformed civilization. Alcott was one of the most thoroughly convinced of the transcendentalists, but his form of thought reached back to the Neo-Platonists rather than to Coleridge or the German idealists. He was an ardent devotee of the Newness, and enlisted in all its enterprises with deepest conviction. He was one of the most uncompromising individualists, refusing to pay taxes, to recognize the State, or to accept the beliefs of any sect. He maintained that every soul may have direct contact with the spiritual realms, and that this is the source of all worthy and legitimate truth. On this theory he had conducted his school, and aimed therein to bring the child to a realization of his own inner spiritual life, and not to impart anything to him from without. The mission of the teacher, he maintained, is simply to aid the child in living the true life of the spirit.

Alcott was one of the most interested and active members of the transcendental club, and its second meeting was held at his house in Boston, while he was conducting the Temple School. He was not wholly satisfied with it, however; and "The Dial" was to him much of a disappointment. At a conversation held in Boston, March 28, 1863, Alcott said: "The club was called the transcendental club because its members imagined the senses did not contain the mind. Contrary to Locke and all the modern philosophers, they ventured to believe that Plato and the Alexandrians had a metaphysics which corresponded to the wants of the human mind, and was adequate to its expression. They were called transcendentalists from the philosopher Kant; but 'symposium' seemed to be the better name for a club or company of earnest persons enjoying their conversation. I think I may say these interviews were delightful to all of

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them. It was conversation indeed upon the highest and subtlest and finest themes."

It was in the English school of transcendentalists, represented by Greaves, Heraud, and Barham, that Alcott found the fullest sympathy. He was more in harmony with Plotinus, Boehme, Law, and Henry More than with Kant or Hegel. The extreme idealism of Boehme and Schelling he approved, and it was this he found his English friends accepted. His attitude may be understood by his comments on O. A. Brownson and James Walker, as recorded in his diary, in 1837; "They are men of fair talents and generous purposes, yet destitute of deep and fervid enthusiasm, and of that kindling genius which ennobles our nature and fits it to the happiest actions. My intimacy with them is not unmixed with the doubts and suspicious associations that attend pride of intellect. They make themselves merry, more than befits my taste, with the divine in our nature; they espouse the cause of the vulgar many, rather than that of the noble few. Both chop logic, both are men of understanding, neither apprehends the being of poet and seer; the high works of poetic genius, the marvels of holiness, are beyond their grasp, although both are good and useful men. They eschew belief in other than bare and barren reasoning, which is the life of the Eclectic school, and refuse credence to all else. There are a few minds whose views do not in all respects coincide with the doctrines of the Eclectic school. These persons have been named after the German Transcendentalists, — a name among us at this time indicative of all that is fanciful, wild, and undevout. These, therefore, are assumed as wanting in good sense, unworthy the name of philosophers, and without the graces of genuine piety; they are called Pantheists. Emerson, Hedge, Furness, and myself are classed in this number. Thus there are now the Eclectic, the Transcendental, the Rational doctrines, each with their representatives; and in each Spiritualism reveals

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The philosophy of Mr. Alcott is not difficult to understand; it has had its representatives in nearly all generations, and not least in our own. And yet what he had to say in the early numbers of "The Dial," subjected him to the grossest misrepresentation. He was frequently burlesqued in the Boston papers, especially in the "Post;" and fun was made of him in every conceivable form because of his Orphic sayings. Some of these were strange enough in their form, and amusing enough in their statements; and yet it was not difficult to understand his meaning, if there was a desire to do so. His biographer says that Alcott's Orphic sayings "were the occasion of boundless ridicule in Beacon Street drawing-rooms." In the sixth chapter of the biography is printed an extravaganza satirizing Alcott's theory of a new dispensation to humanity; and it is followed by a letter from Mary Emerson to Alcott, in which she pokes fun at him in a quiet but insistent manner. Concerning his presentation of his "views" in one of the conversations to which she had listened, she wrote to him: "While the form dazzled, — while the speaker inspired confidence, — the foun-

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dation of the — the — superstructure, gilded and golden — was in depths of — I will tell you plainly what, when I am furnished more with terms as well as principles, — after I have seen the account of your present instruction."

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Ripley, Mr. Hedge, Mr. Parker, Mr. Alcott, and I shall, in some country town — say Concord or Hyannis, — announce that we will hold a semester for the instruction of young men, say from October to April. Each shall announce his own subjects and topics, with what detail he pleases, and shall hold, say two lectures or conversations thereon each week; the hours being so arranged that any pupil may attend all, if he pleases. We may, on certain evenings, combine our total force for conversations, and on Sunday we may meet for worship, and make the Sabbath beautiful to ourselves. The terms shall be left to the settlement of the scholar himself. He shall understand that the teachers will accept a fee, and he shall proportion it to his sense of benefit received and his means. Suppose, then, that Mr. Ripley should teach the History of Opinion, Theology, Modern Literature, or what else; Hedge, Poetry, Metaphysics, Philosophy of History; Parker, History of Paganism, of the Catholic Church, the Modern Crisis, — in short, Ecclesiastical History; Alcott, Psychology, Ethics, the Ideal life; and I, Beaumont and Fletcher, Percy's Reliques, Belles-Lettres. Do you not see that by addition of one or two chosen persons we might make a puissant faculty, and front the world without charter, diploma, corporation, or steward?"

This letter is of much interest as indicating at how early a period the School of Philosophy was projected, and the parts that were to be assigned to the different participants. Such a project was never wholly out of Alcott's mind, until it took definite shape as the result of a visit of Dr. Hiram K. Jones to Concord, in the summer of 1878. Then the school was planned, in the spring of 1879, with the advice of Professor Benjamin Peirce, Dr. William T. Harris, Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney, and other friends of Mr. Alcott. The first session assembled in the yard of the Orchard House, where Mr. Alcott had lived for many years, and in one of

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its rooms when an outdoor meeting could not be held. The lecturers were Alcott, Harris, Jones, Wasson, Thomas Davidson, Sanborn, Emerson, Mrs. Cheney, Professor Pairce, and T. W. Higginson. Mr. Alcott was the dean of the school, and took a most interested part in all its meetings. In the course of ten talks he unfolded his conception of the origin of man, of his spiritual lapse, and of his gradual recovery. The lectures of the second year were held in a rough hall erected on the grounds of the Orchard House, and there the school continued its work for eight summers. After its second session he wrote to a friend: "Yes, the school is a delight, and a realized dream of happy hours in days of sunshine." In October, 1882, however, he had an attack of paralysis, and his last years were much crippled until his death, March 4, 1888.

No estimate of Mr. Alcott can be wholly just that does not recognize his intimate friendship with Emerson, and Emerson's high estimate of his genius. It is easy enough to laugh at his Orphic sayings, and to condemn his want of practical talent. Emerson was no visionary, however, and he knew the worth of those he appreciated, albeit he was much inclined to exaggerate the gifts of his friends. His admiration for Alcott was sincere, and it was based on intimate intercourse with him. "He is a great man," he said of Alcott; the "god with the herdsmen of Admetus. His conversation is sublime; yet when I see how he is underestimated by cultivated people, I fancy none but I have heard him talk." In 1842 he wrote of his friend: "He delights in speculation, — in nothing so much, — and is well endowed and weaponed for that work, with a copious, accurate, and elegant vocabulary, — I may say poetic; so that I know no man who speaks such good English as he, and is so inventive withal . . . He has, moreover, the greatest possession both of mind and temper in his discourse, so that the mastery and moderation and foresight



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and yet felicity with which he unfolds his thought are not to be surpassed."

Emerson frequently said of Alcott to his friends: "As a talker he is a great genius, but when he puts pen to paper he has become dumb. He has no skill with the pen; it is only in conversation that he is inspired." He also said of his poetry: "His overpowering personality destroys all poetic faculty." But Alcott from the first made a prodigious impression upon Emerson, according to the biographer of the latter; and he wrote of Alcott, in 1837, to Margaret Fuller in terms of most enthusiastic praise: "Mr. Alcott is the great man, and Miss Fuller has not seen him. He has more of the godlike than any man I have ever seen, and his presence rebukes, and threatens, and raises. He is a teacher. I shall dismiss for the future all anxiety about his success. If he cannot make intelligent men feel the presence of a superior nature, the worse for them; I can never doubt him. His ideal is beheld with such unrivalled distinctness that he is not only justified, but necessitated to condemn and to seek to upheave the actual, and cleanse the world." At the same time Emerson wrote of Alcott in his journal: "The most extraordinary man, and the highest genius of his time. Wonderful is the steadiness of his vision."

Emerson did not fail to see Alcott's limitations, and these he stated with the utmost plainness. He concluded his account of Alcott's gifts of speculation, already quoted, by saying: "It must be conceded it is speculation that he loves, and not action. Therefore he dissatisfies everybody, and disgusts many. When the conversation is ended, all is over." He denied to Alcott the true gift of literary expression, for he saw how wanting he was in concentration and continuity. Writing in his journal, in 1846, he stated Alcott's deficiency in practical talent with perfect truthfulness. When Alcott wrote from England that he was

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proposing to bring home with him Lane and Wright, Emerson wrote him that he was to say to them that they could safely trust his theories, but that they ought to put no trust in his statement of facts. When they arrived in Concord Emerson questioned them to know if Alcott had shown them this letter, and they replied that he had. This gave relief to Emerson, and removed from him the responsibility of what might follow. "He looks at everything in larger angles than any other," added Emerson concerning this incident, "and by good right should be the greatest man. But here comes in another trait: it is found, though his angles are of so generous contents, the lines do not meet; the apex is not quite defined. We must allow for the refraction of the lens, but it is the best instrument I have ever met with." Of the dismal failure at Fruitlands, Emerson remarked: "The fault of Alcott's community is that it has only room for one;" and he spoke of it as one of the "projects that so often seem without feet or hands." It was these practical defects that caused Emerson to say of his friend: "Alcott is an intellectual Torso—he has vision without any talent,—a colossal head and trunk without hands and feet."

The frequency with which Emerson praised Alcott, and advised others to know him and to cultivate an acquaintance with his rare gifts, showed his admiration for him, however clearly he saw his undoubted defects. His deliberate estimate of his intellectual powers was stated in these words: "He has singular gifts for awakening contemplation and aspiration in simple and in cultivated persons. Though not learned, he is a rare master of the English language, and though no technical logician, he has a subtle and deep science of that which actually passes in thought; and thought is ever seen by him in its relation to life and morals. Those persons who are best prepared by

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their own habit of thought set the highest value on his subtle perception and facile generalization." His final opinion may be summed up in this statement: "A wise man ; simple, superior to display, and drops the best things as quietly as the least."

## VIII

### WILLIAM DEXTER WILSON

THE article in the first number of "The Dial," on Channing's translation of the "Ethics" of Jouffroy, and that in the fourth number, on "The Unitarian Movement in New England," were written by William Dexter Wilson, who had been a Unitarian minister for about two years, and who was about quitting that denominational connection. He was one of those persons attracted by the transcendental movement, but who never came into full sympathy with it. He saw that the development of the spiritual sense leads to an intuition of what must be, of the absolute and necessary; but his attitude seems to have been too theological and churchly for an active co-operation with the transcendentalists.

Wilson was born at Stoddard, N. H., February 28, 1816. He entered the Academy at Walpole in that State, in 1831, and soon became the assistant teacher in Mathematics in that institution. In 1835 he entered the Divinity School of Harvard University; from which he graduated in 1838. At this time he devoted much attention to French, German, Italian, Arabic, and Syriac. While preaching as a Unitarian minister, without settlement, he wrote the two articles in "The Dial," the second one being a severe criticism of the theology of that denomination. All the writers for "The Dial" were connected with the Unitarians, and it indicates a most tolerant and generous spirit that such a criticism was given to the public in its pages. However, "The Dial" editors were not denominational Unitarians, and this because they accepted the spiritual philosophy.

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tain so much of the very quintessence of transcendentalism, and have such a lyric charm and skill, that a few of them may be printed here. One of her poems deserves to be put by the side of "Beauty and Duty" as of like terseness of thought and fine idealism :

### THE STRAIGHT ROAD.

Beauty may be the path to highest good,  
And some successfully have it pursued.  
Thou, who wouldst follow, be well warned to see  
That way prove not a curv'd road to thee.  
The straightest path perhaps which may be sought,  
Lies through the great highway men call I ought.

Of like fineness of spiritual insight was a poem first printed in Miss Peabody's "Æsthetic Papers":

### HYMN OF A SPIRIT SHROUDED.

O God! who in thy dear still heaven,  
Dost sit, and wait to see  
The errors, sufferings, and crimes,  
Of our humanity,  
How deep must be thy causal love!  
How *whole* thy final care!  
Since thou, who rulest over all,  
Canst see, and yet canst bear.

Another brief, but touching poem, has a like subtlety of thought and rapidity of expression, compressing a momentous problem and its solution into a few incisive lines.

"Oh, melancholy liberty  
Of one about to die —  
When friends, with a sad smile,  
And aching heart the while,

"Every caprice allow,  
Nor deem it worth while now,  
To check the restless will  
Which death so soon shall still."

## The Sturgis Sisters

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One of the very best of the many poems addressed to Emerson was written by Mrs. Hooper, based on his words, "Dry-lighted souls are best":

TO R. W. E.

Dry-lighted soul — the ray that shines in thee,  
Shot without reflex from primeval sun.  
We twine the laurel for the victories  
Which thou on thought's broad, bloodless field hast won.

Thou art the mountain, where we climb to see  
The land our feet have trod this many a year.  
Thou art the deep and crystal winter sky,  
Where noiseless, one by one, bright stars appear.

It may be Bacchus, at thy birth, forgot  
That drop from out the purple grape to press  
Which is his gift to man, and so thy blood  
Doth miss the heat which oftentimes breeds excess.

But, all more surely do we turn to thee  
When the day's heat and blinding dust are o'er,  
And cool our souls in the refreshing air,  
And find the peace which we had lost before.

Another of her poems has touched the very heart of the idealism of her time, when transcendentalism was in its prime:

### THE HEART'S CURE.

"Heart, heart, lie still!  
Life is fleeting fast,  
Strife will soon be past."  
"I cannot lie still,  
Beat strong I will."

"Heart, heart, lie still!  
Joy's but joy, pain's but pain,  
Either, little loss or gain."  
"I cannot lie still,  
Beat strong I will."

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"Heart, heart, lie still!  
Heaven is over all,  
Rules this earthly ball."  
"I cannot lie still,  
Beat strong I will."

"Heart, heart, lie still!  
Heaven's sweet grace alone  
Can keep in peace its own."  
"Let that me fill,  
And I am still."

One of her longer poems was in a different strain from these, and more popular in thought and form.

### THE GATE OF HEAVEN.

She stood outside the gate of heaven, and saw them entering in,  
A world-long train of shining ones, all washed in blood from sin.  
The hero-martyr in that blaze uplifted his strong eye,  
And trod firm the re-conquered soil of his nativity!  
And he who had despised his life, and laid it down in pain,  
Now triumphed in its worthiness, and took it up again.  
The holy one, who had met God in desert cave alone,  
Feared not to stand with brethren around the Father's throne.  
They who had done, in darkest night, the deeds of light and flame  
Circled with them about as with a glowing halo came.  
And humble souls, who held themselves too dear for earth to buy,  
Now passed through the golden gate, to live eternally.  
And when into the glory the last of all did go,  
"Thank God! there is a heaven," she cried, "though mine is endless woe."

The angel of the golden gate said, "Where, then, dost thou dwell?  
And who art thou that enterest not?" — "A soul escaped from hell."  
"Who knows to bless with prayer like thine, in hell can never be;  
God's angel could not, if he would, bar up this door from thee."  
She left her sin outside the gate, she meekly entered there,  
Breathed free the blessed air of heaven, and knew her native air.

One more of Mrs. Hooper's poems deserves recognition, if only to show the fine ethical quality of her thought:

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### THE NOBLY BORN.

Who counts himself as nobly born  
Is noble in despite of place,  
And honors are but brands to one  
Who wears them not with nature's grace.

The prince may sit with clown or churl,  
Nor feel his state disgraced thereby ;  
But he who has but small esteem  
Husbands that little carefully.

Then, be thou peasant, be thou peer,  
Count it still more thou art thine own ;  
Stand on a larger heraldry  
Than that of nation or of zone.

What though not bid to knightly halls ?  
Those halls have missed a courtly guest ;  
That mansion is not privileged,  
Which is not open to the best.

Give honor due when custom asks,  
Nor wrangle for this lesser claim ;  
It is not to be destitute,  
To have the thing without the name.

Then dost thou come of gentle blood,  
Disgrace not thy good company ;—  
If lowly born, so bear thyself  
That gentle blood may come of thee.

Strive not with pain to scale the height  
Of some fair garden's petty wall,  
But scale the open mountain side,  
Whose summit rises over all.

Caroline Sturgis was one of the most frequent contributors of poems to the pages of "The Dial." Most of her poems are signed with a "Z." They sometimes appeared by the side of those of Mrs. Hooper, and in two or three instances it is not now easy to decide which of the two wrote certain verses. Her first contribution appeared in the second number, and followed Mrs. Hooper's "The Wood-

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Fire." The title was "The Day Breaks." On the next page was printed Mrs. Hooper's "The Poet," followed by her sister's "Life" and "Evening." In the same number appeared "From Goethe," "Pæan," "Lyric," "Waves," and a couplet immediately following, "Art and Artist," and "Life and Death." In the third number were "Afternoon," "Love and Insight," "Sunset," "Give us an Interpreter," and the lines that follow on the same page. In the fourth number were "Listen to the Wind," "The Wind Again," and "The Angel and the Artist." The first number of the second volume contained "Bettina," and "Lines." In the second number were "Light and Shade" and "Windmill." The third volume contained "Outward Bound," and "The Brook," while in the fourth volume the "Lines," on page 306, only were hers.

Caroline Sturgis was born in August, 1818 or 1819, her family not being able to give the exact date. Her verses in "The Dial," were therefore written when she was only a little more than twenty years of age. Two of her later poems, "Regrets," and "Thou Dost not Remember the Hour," have been set to music by Francis Boott. She also wrote "Rainbows for Children," and "The Magician's Show-Box," both of them successful books for children. She married William A. Tappan, who wrote the poem called "The Sail," in the second number of the fourth volume of "The Dial." Mrs. Tappan died October 20, 1888. Col. T. W. Higginson writes of her: "She was a picturesque, gipsy-like person, and sometimes called the American Bettine. I went to see her once in later years, and thought her inclined to turn her back upon early associations; but I may have erred." In the biography of Hawthorne by Julian Hawthorne, and in Mrs. Lathrop's reminiscences of her mother, will be found many references to the Tappans. "The little red house" in Lenox, Mass., in which the Hawthornes lived from 1850 to 1852, was rented of them. The summer

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home of the Tappans was in the immediate neighborhood of the little house, and it was located on a part of the farm they owned and cultivated. Their winter home was in Boston. Writing to Thoreau in October, 1843, Emerson said: "William Tappan is a very satisfactory person, only I would be very willing he should read a little more; he speaks seldom, but easily and strongly, and moves like a deer." Tappan was one of Thoreau's friends in New York, and he is frequently mentioned in his letters of that period.

The Sturgis sisters were intimate friends of Margaret Fuller, by whom they were induced to contribute to "The Dial." Caroline Sturgis was a frequent companion of Margaret Fuller during her summer vacations, when they lived in the open air and enjoyed Nature with keen delight. During her residence in New York, when connected with "The Tribune," according to Col. T. W. Higginson, she had "the companionship of a favorite friend, Miss Caroline Sturgis, with whom she enjoyed to the utmost the social and artistic delights" of that city. Caroline Sturgis had been an attendant upon Margaret Fuller's conversations in Boston; and in her account of them Mrs. Caroline H. Dall speaks of her as "a most gifted and charming creature." Mrs. Hooper was also a regular attendant upon Margaret Fuller's conversations, and frequently took part in them. Although she has been dead for more than half a century, there yet lingers a tradition of Mrs. Hooper's brilliant qualities as a woman, and her poems are treasured and admired.

## X

### JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE AND SARAH CLARKE

To the first volume of "The Dial," James Freeman Clarke contributed nine poems. The first of these appeared in the second number under the title of "First Crossing the Alleghanies," being an account of a part of his journey to Louisville. Also in this number were printed three poems under the general title of "Nature and Art"; the several subjects being "Gaspar Poussin," "Dominichino," and "Allston's Italian Landscape." In the third number was printed a "Hymn and Prayer" that has been used in several hymn books, and verses addressed "To Nydia." In the fourth number appeared a poem called "Dream," and two poems on art, one being called "The Genuine Portrait," and the other "The Real and the Ideal." On first thought it may appear singular that a grave theologian should be a writer of poetry, but Clarke was not a dogmatist or a bigot, and much of poetry always mingled in his theology. "You do not get a true estimate of Clarke," said Dr. F. H. Hedge, "unless you see him as a poet. He approached all subjects from the poetical side. This poetical habit of looking at everything gave him that fairness which you have observed. The rest of us have written as if we were philosophers. Clarke always wrote, no matter on how dull a subject, as a poet writes. And though he has written few verses, it is because he is a poet that he has done what he has done." None of Clarke's poetical contributions to "The Dial" were gathered into a volume. To the third number of the second volume he contributed a review of an anonymous work on the "Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation," and signed it with

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his initials. At the request of Emerson a letter of Clarke's on George Keats, a brother of John Keats, was published in the fourth number of the third volume. George Keats was Clarke's parishioner in Louisville, and his personal friend. The letter was accompanied by notes of John Keats on the fly-leaf of "Paradise Lost" in the possession of his brother; and Clarke reprinted it in his "Memorial and Biographical Sketches."

James Freeman Clarke was born in Hanover, N. H., April 4, 1810. The second husband of his paternal grandmother was James Freeman, for many years the minister of King's Chapel in Boston. His youth was spent in Newton, in the home or in the immediate neighborhood of Dr. Freeman, by whom he was regarded as affectionately as if he had been of his own blood. He graduated from Harvard in 1829, and from the Divinity School in 1833. Almost immediately after completing his theological studies he went to Louisville, Ky., where he was settled as minister of the Unitarian church until June, 1840. He was the leading editor of "The Western Messenger," and for five years had it under his control. Returning to Boston, he organized the Church of the Disciples in the winter of 1840-1841; and he was its minister until his death, June 8, 1888.

When it was organized the Church of the Disciples was a novelty, and it was generally regarded as a very doubtful innovation. The plan of it cannot be said to have wholly originated with Clarke, for Dr. Karl Follen had introduced some of its features into the church organized by him in Lexington. It was Dr. Follen's idea to conduct many of the services of his church in the form of conferences, giving every person present the opportunity to ask questions and to address the congregation. The same plan was to some extent carried out by John S. Dwight during the few months that he was the minister of the Unitarian



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church in Northampton. Others tried the same experiment of social services, in which all the congregation should participate, the idea being to secure greater interest in religious questions, less formality, a greater unanimity of thought between the minister and his congregation, and a more truly spiritual worship. The chief innovation made by Mr. Clarke was in securing a social participation of all the congregation in the affairs of his church. He introduced responsive services, invited laymen into the pulpit, held evening meetings for the study of the Bible and the discussion of religious themes, and secured the participation of many persons in the worship and the work of the church. He drew about him a large body of intelligent men and women, and especially a great number of young persons.

In other respects Clarke was an innovator upon the staid habits of Boston and its very conservative social spirit. He was a reformer by nature and by conviction; not an iconoclast, but one always ready to adopt rational changes in religion or social life. He was opposed to slavery, and had preached and written against it in Louisville. While he did not identify himself with the more extreme anti-slavery leaders, he was one of the most devoted advocates of freedom for the slaves. He identified himself with the peace, the woman suffrage, the temperance, and other reforms of a radical nature. On political questions he was outspoken, his pulpit never being closed to problems of civic duty and national ethics. Identifying himself with the most progressive party, he was always independent, freely criticising men and measures that he felt were not true to the interests of the people and the nation.

Clarke built up for himself a church of his own, planned to conform to his own convictions, that gave him the utmost freedom, with a congregation composed of his personal friends. He exchanged with Theodore Parker when that prince of innovators was at the height of his

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unpopularity, with the result that a considerable number of persons withdrew from the congregation and formed the Church of the Saviour, which continued in existence for only a few years. Clarke was not a Parkerite, but he believed in freedom, and he was opposed to the dogmatic temper that sought to silence Parker. He was a moderately conservative Unitarian, with such a tendency to transcendentalism as kept him always open-minded towards all problems about the solution of which men differ. He had more influence than any other person, except Emerson and Hedge, in shaping the Unitarianism of to-day. His "Orthodoxy: its Truths and Errors," "Steps of Belief," "Common-Sense in Religion," "The Ideas of the Apostle Paul," and other theological writings, are broad in spirit, conservative in aim, and of a spiritual temper largely guided by transcendentalism. Perhaps no one not warmly alive to the truths presented by the transcendental philosophy could have written his "Truths and Errors of Orthodoxy" with so little of sectarian zeal, and so great a readiness to appreciate forms of theological thought opposed to his own.

With all the interests of the Unitarian body Clarke identified himself, writing frequently for its weekly and monthly publications, serving for a number of years as the secretary of the American Unitarian Association and as editor of its "Monthly Journal;" but he was so little dogmatic that he was welcomed on all occasions by those of other creeds, and he was regarded everywhere as a true leader of Christian life in this country. His lectures on "Self-Culture," when put into a volume, in 1882, were widely read, as were several of his other publications. He was recognized as one of the greatest citizens of Boston, and as one of the most influential of its ethical and spiritual leaders.

While one of the most earnest upholders of Christianity as a revelation, and as the highest form of religion, Clarke

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was ready to give recognition to the good in all other forms of faith. His Lowell Institute lectures on the great religions of the world, published in the "Atlantic Monthly," and then in a volume as "Ten Great Religions," in 1871, showed his catholicity and his depth of spiritual conviction. This volume was followed, in 1883, by a second part on the ethnic interpretation of the great theological problems. If these works were predominantly theological, Clarke was led into wider fields in his "Memorial and Biographical Sketches," 1878; "Events and Epochs in Religious History," 1881; and "Anti-Slavery Days," 1884. In 1852 he joined with Emerson and W. H. Channing in preparing the "Memoir of Margaret Fuller" then published, writing the chapters relating to her early life in Cambridge and as a teacher. Clarke was also a frequent contributor to "The Christian Examiner," "The Atlantic Monthly," "The North American Review," and "Old and New," beside publishing a great number of sermons and addresses in pamphlet form. His published volumes were thirty in number, including "Exotics," a collection of translations in verse, largely from the German, made in connection with one of his daughters, in 1876.

There can be no question that James Freeman Clarke was largely influenced by the transcendental movement. He was at an early date a student and admirer of Emerson, whose influence was greater than that of any other person in giving form and content to his theology. In December, 1838, when Emerson's spiritual philosophy was being vehemently criticised, Clarke wrote to a friend: "As for Mr. Emerson, so great is my respect for the extraordinary dignity and purity of his character, so profound my feeling of the exquisite keenness of his intellect and the antique charm of his imagination, that I cannot bear the criticisms which must needs seem shallow though coming from good and true men. When we are permitted to meet a man

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whose life is holiness, whose words are gems, whose character is of the purest type of heroism, yet of childlike simplicity, — shall we stop to find fault with the shape of his coat, or the coherence of his opinions, instead of gratefully receiving this Heaven's gift?" It was the spiritual philosophy that enabled Clarke to maintain an attitude at once thoroughly radical, and yet conservative of the great essentials of Christianity. It enabled him to keep the forms of Christian worship, and to infuse them with spiritual insight and ethical integrity. It was these characteristics of his mind and his life that led Margaret Fuller to write of him: "He is a preacher. He is really a Christian, revering what is above, loving and pitying what is below, and in manly sympathy, esteem, and tolerance meeting what is on a level with him."

Sarah Clarke, a sister of James F. Clarke, born January 21, 1808, devoted her life to painting. She was taught the rudiments of an education by Dr. James Freeman. Her mother kept a boarding-house in Ashburton Place, Boston, and among those who lived with her were Jared Sparks, General Devens and his family, Horace Mann, Elizabeth Peabody and her sisters, who became Mrs. Mann and Mrs. Hawthorne. Sarah Clarke attended the conversations of Margaret Fuller, and she listened with delight to Emerson's lectures. She chose painting as a profession when a girl, and she studied under Washington Allston. In 1850 she went to Europe to pursue her profession, and remained there for two years. In order to care for her mother she came home and spent a year in Milwaukee, and then returned to Europe, having persuaded her mother to live there with her. In 1856 she came home again, but returned to Rome in 1868, having in the meantime cared for her mother in her old age and her last illness. Then she settled in Rome to pursue art in the company of Harriet Hosmer, Margaret Foley (one of the Lowell "mill-girls"), Crawford, and

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others. Helen Hunt was one of her companions. She largely devoted herself to works of charity and philanthropy, many a traveller finding in her home a most hospitable reception. She made a tour through the Dante country, visiting every place where he stopped or lived. She also spent a winter in Egypt in company with a friend.

At the age of seventy Sarah Clarke returned permanently to America, and found a home in Marietta, Ga., where two of her brothers were living. She devoted herself diligently to her profession, and gave much attention to providing the little community with a public library, for which she was able to secure a suitable building. Her last years were those of an invalid, but she lived a happy life until her death, which took place November 17, 1896. She was one of the first women to take up art as a profession, and she devoted herself to it with fidelity and success.

Sarah Clarke wrote the little poem on Dante which appeared on the last page of the first number of "The Dial." She was an ardent student of Dante, as a series of papers in "The Century Magazine" for 1884 will testify. She published an account of Washington Allston in "The Atlantic Monthly," and she occasionally wrote for other publications. "Much of the happiness of her life," a niece has written of her, "came to her from her artistic pursuits. It was less common then than now for a young girl to choose painting as a profession, and give to it serious study. She had the great privilege of being a pupil of Allston, who was to her the kindest of friends and teachers. Sarah Clarke loved art for its own sake, with no admixture of ambition, and it was to her a source of pure delight."

## XI

### FREDERIC HENRY HEDGE

ALTHOUGH Hedge was at first the choice of the members of the transcendental club for the editor of "The Dial" he wrote very little for it. To the second number he contributed "The Art of Life—the Scholar's Calling," to the third number a poem called "Questionings," and to the first number of the third volume a translation of Uhland's "The Castle by the Sea." "Questionings" was reprinted in various collections, and was sometimes called "The Idealist." It was one of the longest and best of his poems, though he did not write many. It was suggested to him while he was watching the stars during a sleepless night when he was travelling in the Bangor mail-coach, and it was composed under these circumstances and retained in memory complete.

Hedge was born in Cambridge, December 12, 1805, the son of Professor Levi Hedge, one of the leading men for many years in Harvard College. In 1818, when he was but thirteen years old, Hedge was sent to Germany to complete his preparation for college, in charge of George Bancroft, who was only eighteen, and had just graduated from Harvard. Hedge studied at the gymnasium of Ilfeld, in Hanover, and then at Schulpfarte, in Saxony. During the five years of his absence he gained a thorough mastery of the German language and of German ways of thought.

He entered Harvard in 1823 and graduated in 1825. He graduated at the Divinity School in 1828, and the following year he was settled over the First Parish (Unitarian) in West Cambridge, now Arlington, where he was ordained

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May 20. In 1835 he became the minister of the Independent Congregational Society of Bangor, Maine, where he continued until 1850. In the latter year he went to Providence as the minister of the Westminster Church, and in 1856 he took charge of the First Parish in Brookline, where he succeeded John Peirce, his father-in-law, one of the most forcible and best beloved of the early Unitarian preachers. In 1857 Hedge became the professor of ecclesiastical history in the Divinity School, and at the same time editor of "The Christian Examiner." He continued to preach in Brookline until 1872, when he became the professor of the German language and literature at Harvard, and removed to Cambridge.

As a preacher Hedge was vigorous and scholarly, deeply religious and yet progressive. He said of himself that he was "intellectually radical and ecclesiastically conservative." He wore a gown in the pulpit, a thing wholly unknown elsewhere in Bangor. He was inclined to the forms and requirements of the church, laying emphasis on the sacraments and symbolisms of Christianity. Spending a year in Europe, in 1847, he returned with added zeal for the ancient usages of the church. Some of his parishioners thought he was becoming a Catholic, and he did much incline to high-church ways. Concerning this tendency of Hedge to ecclesiastical methods, Dr. Cyrus A. Bartol truly said: "He was a builder of the temple and an inspirer of the priest. Emerson stood for the private soul, and what, through that, the divinity can breathe. Dr. Hedge, with equal warrant, urged the claims of society and the church. He would not lose, far less cast away, but preserve and defend, the treasure of authentic tradition in a spiritual communion and for the human race. For this pious office how well was he fitted by a learning and scholarship that made him supreme among his fellows, and a logical force which bore like a feather the heaviest load of ancient lore."

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The pulpit style of Hedge was Websterian, being imposing, magisterial, and impressive. He had what John W. Chadwick has called "a resounding rhetoric," which led Dr. James Walker to say of him that he was "the only man we have who is master of the grand style."

Although religiously and ecclesiastically conservative, Hedge was liberal and progressive in his theological position. He was a transcendentalist, but not of the extreme type. With the more radical Unitarians, who formed the Free Religious Association, he had little sympathy. Nor did he keep pace with Emerson in his individualism. Hedge was undoubtedly the ablest theologian the Unitarians have produced, the most vigorous and original thinker in that direction, and the most philosophical in his interpretations of theological problems. His "Reason in Religion," and "Ways of the Spirit" gave a new direction to the theology of Unitarians, and did much to shape the later ways of thinking of that religious body.

Hedge frequently lectured upon important themes, and several of his addresses were notable for their vigorous thought, their scholarly strength, and their robust style of delivery. In 1853 he gave a course of lectures on "Mediæval History" before the Lowell Institute in Boston. Among the most impressive of his addresses were those on Dr. Channing, in 1868; on Emerson, in 1882; and on Martin Luther, in 1883. Other discourses that attracted much attention was the one on "Pantheism" before the Radical Club, and that on the "Mythical Element in the New Testament," delivered in Boston, in 1872. He was a frequent contributor to "The North American Review," "Atlantic Monthly," and other periodicals. In these were published brilliant articles on Leibnitz, St. Augustine, Schopenhauer, and Kant. His first book was published in 1848, and bore the title of "The Prose Writers of Germany." It gave biographical sketches, with critical estimates of the opinions of a score



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or more of the leading thinkers and authors of that country, together with extracts from their works. His next book was "Reason in Religion," 1865; then followed "The Primeval World of Hebrew Tradition," 1870; "Ways of the Spirit," 1877; "Atheism in Philosophy, and other Essays," 1884; "Hours with German Classics," 1886; "Martin Luther and other Essays," 1888. Hedge lived to the age of eighty-five, and died August 21, 1890.

In a letter to Caroline H. Dall, in 1877, Dr. Hedge said of his connection with the transcendental movement: "It has no importance, except in so far as I was the first in this country, to the best of my knowledge, to move in that direction. In 'The Christian Examiner' for March, 1833, in an article on Coleridge, I attempted a vindication of German metaphysics, with a brief account of some of the leading positions of the early writers of the school of Kant. What I said I have no doubt was very poor and crude. I have not looked at it since, but it was the *first word*, so far as I know, which any American had uttered in respectful recognition of the claims of Transcendentalism. German metaphysics had been characterized as wild, visionary mysticism, unworthy the attention of sober minds. I am not so vain as to suppose that the words of one so young and so unknown as I then was could have had any power to remove this prejudice. Still, it was significant that 'The Christian Examiner,' an influential organ of the Unitarian body, should admit, and by admitting seem to indorse, my words. Already there were here and there receptive and inquiring minds, whom the writings of Coleridge and of Carlyle — before the days of 'Sartor Resartus,' and the appearance in 1832 of Linberg's translation of Cousin's 'Introduction to the History of Philosophy' — had predisposed to the rejection of the old sensualistic ideas.

"Prominent among these were George Ripley and Waldo Emerson. German metaphysics, I think, had been studied

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*in the original* by no American except myself. Other papers of mine in 'The Examiner,' of which I now recall one on Swedenborg, November, 1833, and one on Phrenology, November, 1834, though not dealing especially with German metaphysics, looked in the Transcendental direction. When Carlyle sent three copies of 'Sartor Resartus' — then unpublished in America — to Emerson, bidding him keep one for himself and give the others to persons most in sympathy with the author, he gave one to me and one to Mrs. Samuel Ripley.

"In September, 1836, George Ripley, Waldo Emerson, and myself called the first meeting of what was named in derision 'The Transcendental Club.' There was no club in any strict sense, — only occasional meetings of like-minded men and women. No line was drawn between those who were members and those who were not, except that as a matter of course certain persons were always notified. Emerson, Alcott, Thoreau, Stetson, George Ripley and his wife, Mrs. Samuel Ripley, Margaret Fuller, John S. Dwight, Elizabeth Peabody, Theodore Parker, Jones Very, Robert Bartlett, John Weiss, Dr. Francis, Dr. Bartol, and myself, were expected. Orestes Brownson met with us once or twice, but became unbearable, and was not afterward invited. George Bradford, Samuel Osgood, and Ephraim Peabody were sometimes present. Dr. George Putnam came to one of these meetings, — in fact, was one with Ripley, Emerson, and myself, to start them; but they took a turn unexpected to him, and after the first meeting at Emerson's he ceased to come. My coming from Bangor, where I then resided, was always the signal for a meeting.

"When 'The Dial,' the natural outcome of our movement, was started, in 1840, I was asked to be one of the editors. This I declined for want of time; and I feel some compunction now in thinking how little I did for it. Some verses of mine printed in it, and written about 1834, Emer-

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son thought fit to preserve in his 'Parnassus.' They were called 'Questionings,' have a transcendental character, and indicate the problems with which my mind was then laboring.

"While living in Bangor I received a letter from Theodore Parker asking me to recommend to him a course of reading in German philosophy, of which (as he said) I was supposed to know more than any man of his acquaintance. In my 'Prose Writers of Germany,' the introductory notices of Boehme, Kant, Fichte, Hegel, and Schelling contain in the shortest space condensed statements of the characteristic positions of those philosophers, which, brief as they are, will give proof of my first-hand acquaintance with their writings."

## XII

### WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING

ONE of the most frequent contributors to "The Dial" was William Ellery Channing, the younger, who furnished it with no less than sixty poems and prose articles, more than any other person. Nearly all of these appeared in the third and fourth volumes, and were secured by the solicitation of Emerson. In the second number, at the bottom of page 187, were printed two lines from his pen. In the fourth number appeared a sonnet entitled "Hermitage," and also parts of a poetical play, with the title, "Theme for a World-Drama." In the first number of the second volume was printed a "Sonnet to——." In the third number the poetical motto to Margaret Fuller's sketch called "Yuca Filamentosa" was by Channing. In the second number Emerson printed a dozen of Channing's poems in an article called "New Poetry," praising them warmly, but recognizing their defects. He said these poems were "inspirations, honest, great, but crude. They have never been filed or decorated for the eye that studies surface. The writer was not afraid to write ill; he has a great meaning too much at heart to stand for trifles, and wrote lordly for his peers alone." Higginson says this article was "received with mingled admiration and rage by the critics, and with special wrath by Edgar Poe."

When Emerson became the editor of "The Dial" Channing was invited to its pages frequently. In the first number of the third volume appeared a group of his poems, the successive titles being "Gifts," "The Lover's Song," "Sea Song," "The Earth-Spirit," "Prayer," and "After-

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Life." The sonnet, "To Shakespeare," was also his. In the second number "Dirge" and "The Poet" were written by him. "A Song of Spring," "Anna," "The River," "Life," "To——," "Death," were his contributions to the third number; and in the fourth were "To——," and "The Friends." The first number of the fourth volume contained "The Earth," "An Old Man," "The Journey," and "The Glade;" the second, "Autumn," "Allston's Funeral," "To the Muse," and "William Tell's Song;" the third, "Autumn Woods," the "Fatal Passion: a Dramatic Sketch;" and the fourth, "To Readers," "The Death of Shelley," "A Song of the Sea," and "To the Poets." Fifty of Channing's poems were printed in "The Dial." Most of these were included in his "Poems" of 1843 and 1847. In the last volume was also printed a prose romance in the form of a series of letters, called "The Youth of the Poet and the Painter." It is an attempt to describe the education of a poet, how he was trained for his calling, and how he succeeded in overcoming the educational and social obstacles he found in his way. Evidently the author had not completed his task when "The Dial" came to an end, but his design and his theories are discernible without difficulty. In the seventh letter he gives an account of the way in which transcendentalism influenced the youth of New England, quite of the nature of Emerson's treatment of the same subject; and in the thirteenth he describes the influence of nature upon the poet, and how essential it is to the development of his moral and intellectual character. Here will be found the best of Channing's prose writing, and some of the letters have hardly been surpassed by any of the transcendental writers for delicacy combined with strength, as well as for simplicity and directness.

William Ellery Channing, the younger, was born in Boston June 10, 1818. His father was Walter Channing, the next younger brother of Dr. Channing, after whom the

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son was named. He was a physician of prominence in Boston, became a professor in the Harvard Medical School, was for twenty years connected with the Massachusetts General Hospital, and published several books and many articles on medical subjects. Ellery Channing studied in the Boston Latin School and in the Round Hill School at Northampton, entered Harvard College in 1834, but did not graduate, the intellectual unrest of the time leading him to prefer other methods of completing his education. His account of Edward Ashford, in his "Youth of the Poet and Painter," may contain much that is autobiographical, and will probably explain his reasons for leaving college before graduation. In 1839 he spent some months in northern Illinois, living in a log hut erected by himself at Woodstock, in McHenry County; and in 1840 he went to Cincinnati, where his uncle, James H. Perkins, was the minister of the Unitarian church. In 1841 he married Ellen Fuller, the younger sister of Margaret Fuller, and took up his residence in Concord. Ellen Fuller was educated by her sister, who was to her as a mother for many years. Higginson has said of her that she "was in person and character one of the most attractive of women. She had a Madonna face, a broad brow, exquisite coloring, and the most noble and ingenuous expression, mingled, in her sister Margaret's phrase, with 'the look of an appealing child.' I knew her intimately," Higginson continues, "her husband being my near relative [cousin], and our households being for various reasons closely brought together; and have always considered her one of the most admirable women I have ever had the good fortune to meet. She not only had an active and cultivated mind, and a strength of character that surmounted some of life's severest trials, but she was as singularly gifted in the sphere of home and social life as was her sister in that of literature."

Channing at first lived in a house a half-mile northward

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of the Old Manse, and was a near neighbor of Hawthorne. Here he devoted himself to the writing of poetry, to outdoor labors, and to the companionship of Emerson and Thoreau. He spent one winter chopping wood in the Concord woods. In his "Poems" of 1847 he has given an account of his life in Concord, the poem being entitled "New England:"

"In my small cottage on the lonely hill,  
Where like a hermit I must bide my time,  
Surrounded by a landscape lying still  
All seasons through as in a winter's prime,  
Rude and as homely as these verses chime,  
I have a satisfaction which no king  
Has often felt, if Fortune's happiest thing."

In another poem he describes the woodman, and it is based on his own personal experiences:

"Deep in the forest stands he there,  
His gleaming axe cuts crashing through,  
While winter whistles in the air,  
The oak's tough trunk and flexile bough.

"Upon his floor a leafy bed  
Conceals the grass, and o'er his head  
The leafless branches trimly rise,  
The lattice of his painted skies.

"Within the tree the circles are,  
That years have drawn with patient art,  
Against its life he maketh war,  
And stills the beating of its heart.

"The fibrous chips spin far and near,  
A tangled nest of twigs around,  
And dry leaves whisper to his ear,  
He stops to hear the cheering sound.

"Nought but the drifted cloud o'erhead,  
Nought but the stately pine afar,  
A glaze o'er all the picture spread,  
A medium that for suns prepare."

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In 1843 he published a volume of poems, including several that were printed in "The Dial." The volume was edited by Emerson and Samuel G. Ward, the latter providing for the cost of its publication. A second series was published in 1847, and this volume also included poems from "The Dial." In the same year appeared his "Conversations in Rome between an Artist, a Catholic, and a Critic;" and the next year was published "The Woodman, and Other Poems." In this third volume of his poems the title-poem is descriptive of his own life as a Concord woodsman. In 1843 he moved to a hill-top in Concord, some distance from the village. He spent some months in 1844-45 in New York as a writer for the "Tribune," after which he made a journey to Europe lasting for several months. In 1846 he returned to Concord and located on the main street, opposite the house occupied by the Thoreau family and afterward by Alcott. In 1855-56 he was one of the editors of the "New Bedford Mercury," and during this time made the acquaintance of the Ricketson family, who were intimate friends to Thoreau. He wrote for the newspapers while living in Concord, his connection with the "Boston Journal" beginning in 1836, to which paper he contributed a series of essays on Shakespeare. For a number of years he lived alone in a small house in Concord, having separated from his family; but for a dozen years he was an inmate of the house of Frank B. Sanborn, where he died December 23, 1901.

Although Channing has never been popular as a poet, or even read except by a few, he continued to issue his books of poetry from time to time. His "Near Home: A Poem," appeared in 1858; "The Burial of John Brown," in 1860; "The Wanderer: A Colloquial Poem," in 1871; "Thoreau: The Poet Naturalist, with Memorial Verses," 1873; "Eliot: A Poem," 1885; "John Brown, and the Heroes of Harper's Ferry: A Poem," 1886. In "The Wanderer" he gave many fine descriptions of scenery in Concord, as well as of his



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walks and talks with Emerson, Thoreau, and others. It is to a considerable extent autobiographical, and adds much to our knowledge of his mind and character. The book about Thoreau is largely quoted from Thoreau's diaries and letters, and it affords a full view of the intimate relations between the two men. The last of his poems is dramatic in form, and describes a visit of Mrs. Ellen Russell, daughter of Father Taylor, the famous preacher to the seamen of Boston, to Brown and his men in his Virginia prison.

Channing was a fit companion for Thoreau, for he was as original, as unconventional, and as zealous a lover of the outdoor world. He has not succeeded in making his genius felt, and yet those who know his work best regard it as of a high order. Hawthorne hinted at his defect when he wrote : " Could he have drawn out that virgin gold, and stamped it with the mint-mark that alone gives currency, the world would have had the profit and he the fame." But he was incapable of working in harness, was often whimsical, inclined to a hermit's life, and unwilling to bring himself into harmony with others. These conditions shut him off from active connection with his fellow-men when he was at middle age, and have kept him secluded from the world since. After enumerating his various wanderings, places of residence, and rare intervals of stated occupation, Mr. Sanborn says of him : " In all these wanderings and residences his artist eye was constantly seeking out the finest landscapes, and his sauntering habit was to take his friends and introduce them to scenery they could hardly have found for themselves. He showed Thoreau the loveliest recesses of the Concord woods, and of the two rivers that came slowly through them ; he preceded Thoreau at Yarmouth and Truro and the Highland shore of Cape Cod ; and he even taught Emerson the intimate charm of regions in Concord and Sudbury which he, the older resident and unwearied walker, had never beheld. . . . In mountain-climbing and in summer

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visits to the wilder parts of New England he preceded Thoreau, being more at leisure in his youth, and less bound by those strict habits of study which were native to Thoreau all his life."

Channing was a frequent companion of Thoreau when they both lived in Concord, and they were correspondents when either was absent from that town. The letter in which Channing advised his friend to betake himself to a solitary life shows their intimacy and their knowledge of each other. "I see nothing for you on this earth," Channing wrote, "but that field which I once christened 'Briars;' go out upon that, build yourself a hut, and there begin the grand process of devouring yourself alive. I see no alternative, no other hope for you." This outspoken advice Thoreau adopted, and a few months later he built his hut on the shore of Walden pond. In his wanderings in Canada, New Hampshire, Berkshire, and on the Hudson, Thoreau had Channing for his companion; and he could not have had one more to his liking. When Channing was in New Bedford, Thoreau wrote to Daniel Ricketson: "He and I, you know, have been old cronies. How to serve him most effectually has long been a problem with his friends. I suspect that the most that you or any one can do for him is to appreciate his genius, — to buy and read, and cause others to buy and read his poems. That is the hand which he hath put forth to the world, — take hold of that. He will accept sympathy and aid, but he will not bear questioning, unless the aspects of the sky are particularly auspicious. He will ever be 'reserved and enigmatic,' and you must deal with him at arm's length. I have no secrets to tell you concerning him, and do not wish to call obvious excellencies and defects by far-fetched names. Nor need I suggest how witty and poetic he is, and what an inexhaustible fund of good-fellowship you will find in him."

In writing to Thoreau, Emerson said: "Ellery Channing

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is excellent company, and we walk in all directions." Channing cut wood for Emerson, as Thoreau cared for his house and his garden. Concerning one of his walks with Channing, in 1848, Emerson wrote in his journal: "Another walk with Ellery Channing well worth commemoration, if that were possible; but no pen could write what we saw; it needs the pencils of all the painters that ever existed to aid the description. . . . Ellery said he had once fancied that there were some amateur trades, as politics, but he found there were none. Even walking could not be done by amateurs, but by professors only. In walking with Ellery you shall always see what was never before shown to the eye of man."

One side of Channing's character was admirably described by Henry James, senior, when he wrote: "Ellery Channing seemed so human and good, — sweet as sunshine, and fragrant as pine woods." Another phase was wittily described by Emerson: "Ellery Channing had a keen appetite for society, with extreme repulsion, so that it came to be a kind of commerce of cats, — love and hate, embraces and fighting."

Channing was one of the most faithful of the transcendentalists in his devotion to the cardinal ideas of that form of thought. One of the youngest of the writers for "The Dial," he accepted the idealistic philosophy with loyalty. His poetry has all the excellencies and defects of those who most trusted this method of thinking. Its obscurities and eccentricities are prominent, and they are accompanied with failure to appreciate the value of rhythm and metre. His thought is subtle, his spiritual insight clear, but his method is often vicious. A few of his poems, in which he has expressed most faithfully his transcendentalism, may be quoted. One of these is "A Poet's Hope," contained in his Poems of 1843. The last line of this poem has been often quoted as one of the best written in this country.

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"I am not earth-born, though I here delay ;  
Hope's child, I summon infinite powers,  
And laugh to see the mild and sunny clay  
Smile on the shrunk and thin autumnal hours ;  
I laugh, for hope hath happy place with me,  
If my bark sinks, 't is to another sea."

In the poem called "Una" he shows himself a transcendentalist who is always seeking the subtler and deeper meanings of life and its experiences :

"We are centred deeper far  
Than the eye of any star,  
Nor can rays of long sunlight  
Thread a pace of our delight.  
In thy form I see the day  
Burning, of a kingdom higher,  
In thy silver net-work play  
Thoughts that to the Gods aspire."

In one of his sonnets he brings out forcibly the transcendentalist's love of Nature, and his capacity for identifying himself with it by the ties of a profound sympathy:

"I love the universe, — I love the joy  
Of every living thing. Be mine the sure  
Felicity which ever shall endure,  
While passion whirls the madman, as they toy,  
To hate, I would my simple being warm  
In the calm pouring sun ; and in that pure  
And motionless silence, ever would employ  
My best true powers, without a thought's annoy,  
See and be glad, O high imperial race,  
Dwarfing the common altitude of strength,  
Learn that ye stand on an unshaken base ;  
Your powers will carry you to any length.  
Up ! earnestly feel the gentle sunset beams ;  
Be glad in woods, o'er sands — by marsh, or streams."

The preface to his "Near Home" was addressed "To Henry," and gives loyal expression to his admiration for Thoreau. In describing the scenery of Concord, he says :—

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“For chiefly here, thy worth, —  
Chiefly in this, thy unabated trust, —  
Ample reliance on the unceasing  
Truth that rules the nether sphere about us,  
That drives round the unthinking ball  
And buds the ignorant germs on life and time,  
Of men and beasts and birds, themselves the sport  
Of a most healthy fortune, still unspent,  
So that all individual sorrows,  
Butts for jest, leap down the narrow edge  
Of thy colossal wit, and sheltered hide,  
There, at its base.

“Modest and mild, and kind,  
Who never spurned the needing from thy door,  
(Door of thy heart, which is a palace gate);  
Temperate and faithful, in whose word the world  
Might trust, sure to repay, unvexed by care,  
Unawed by Fortune’s nod, slave to no lord,  
No coward to thy peers, long shalt thou live,  
Not in this feeble verse, this sleeping age,  
But in the roll of Heaven; and at the bar  
Of that high court, where virtue is in place.”

Between 1848 and 1855 there was planned a volume devoted to the walks and talks of Emerson, Thoreau, Channing, and perhaps Alcott. It was to include passages from the journals of these Concord authors, as well as reports of conversations to be made by Channing, who was to have been its editor. This volume was not published, but Channing used parts of it in his book about Thoreau, including passages from the journals of Emerson and Thoreau. A volume of Channing’s writings is being edited by Mr. Sanborn, which will include other passages from the proposed volume, as well as some of his earlier and later poems. Doubtless Mr. Sanborn will become Channing’s biographer, and when that work is published it will be realized that he was a man of genius, that he was intimately connected with many of the leading men and women of his time, and that he deserves recognition as a genuine poet.

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In a personal letter Senator George F. Hoar has said of Channing's poetry: "I shall be much mistaken if some of his poems do not survive nearly everything that his generation in this country has produced." Not less appreciative of Channing's poetic genius was Thoreau, who quoted his verses in the "Week," and said of him in "Walden": "The one who came from farthest to my lodge, through deepest snows, was a poet. A farmer, a soldier, a reporter, even a philosopher, may be daunted, but nothing can deter a poet, for he is actuated by pure love. Who can predict his comings and goings? His business calls him out at all hours, even when doctors sleep. We made that small house ring with boisterous mirth and resound with the murmur of much sober talk. At suitable intervals there were regular salutes of laughter, which might have been referred indifferently to the last uttered or the forthcoming jest."

In "The Dial" Emerson early gave recognition to Channing's poetry, justly estimating its merits and its defects. In an introduction to "The Wanderer," published in 1871, he again praised and blamed the work of his friend. "Here is a naturalist," he wrote, "who sees the flower and the bird with a poet's curiosity and awe,— does not count the stamens in the aster, nor the feathers in the wood-thrush, but rests in the surprise and affection they awaken. His interest in nature is not pedantic, much less culinary, but insatiably curious of the hint it gives of its cause, and its relation to man. All his use of it is free and searching, and with too much sympathy to affect more than is compelled."

"The author has one essential of his art — surprise. We like the poet whose thought we cannot predict, and whose mind is so full of genuine knowledge that we are sure to be enriched by every verse. This book requires a good reader — a lover and inquirer of nature; and such a one will find himself rewarded. I can easily believe that many a reader and perhaps writer of popular poetry will, after short ex-

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periment, turn away with disdain from this rude pamphlet, and thank his stars that his culture has made him incapable of pleasure from such charcoal-sketching. But I confide that the lover of woods and hillsides, and the true philosopher, will search, with increasing curiosity, records of nature and thought so novel and sincere. Here is Hamlet in the fields with never a thought to waste even on Horatio's opinion of his sallies. Plainly the author is a man of large reading in a wide variety of studies; but his books have not tamed his invincible personality.

"I confess to a certain impatience of a needless or even wilful neglect of rhythm in a poet who has sometimes shown a facility and grace in this art which promised to outdo his rivals, and now risks offence by harshness. . . . If there is neglect of conventional ornament and of correct finish, which even looks a little studied, as if the poet crippled his pentameters to challenge notice to a subtler melody, yet here are strokes of skill which recall the great masters. Here is the mountain truly pictured, the upland day, the upland night, the perpetual home of the wind, and every hint of the primeval agencies noted; and the thoughts which these bring to youth and to maturity. There is nothing conventional in the theme or the illustration, — no, but 'thoughts that voluntary move harmonious numbers,' and pictures seen by an instructed eye.

"Perhaps we may even thank the poet, who, in his verse, does not regard the public. It is written to himself, — is his forest or street experience; the record of his moods, fancies, observations, and studies, and will interest good readers as such. He confides in his own bias for meditation and writing. He will write, as he has ever written, — whether he has readers or not. But his poems have to me and to others an exceptional value for this reason — we have not been considered in their composition, but either defied or forgotten, and therefore consult them securely as photographs."

### XIII

#### THOMAS TREADWELL STONE

THE article on "Man in the Ages," with which the third number of the first volume of "The Dial" opened, was written by Thomas T. Stone, then minister of the Union Church in East Machias, Maine. It was thoroughly in harmony with the ideas of the transcendentalists, but the author had not up to that time any personal contact with the leaders of that school of thought. Its cardinal idea, that of the fall of man through selfishness, was that entertained by Alcott and set forth in his writings.

Thomas T. Stone was born in Waterford, Maine, February 9, 1801. His father was a farmer in a new and sparsely settled region; but he was able to send his son to Bridgton Academy, and then to Bowdoin College, from which he graduated in 1820. While at Bowdoin he was a room-mate of Jacob Abbott, the author of "The Young Christian," "The Rollo Books," and many other popular works. An intimate friendship continued between the two throughout life. Immediately after graduation Stone began the study of theology, serving at the same time as a missionary in Oxford County. In 1824 he was settled over the Orthodox Congregational Church in Andover, in the neighborhood of the Rangely lakes, the most northwesterly town then organized in the State. In this pioneer region he continued until 1830, devoting much time to study, lecturing largely on peace, temperance, and kindred topics, preaching three times on Sunday, and ministering to the settlers throughout a wide region. He wrote "Sketches of Oxford County" at this time, a little book published at Portland, in 1830, and



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long since out of print. At the suggestion of William Ladd, one of the leaders of the peace movement, he published, in 1829, a series of sermons on that subject.

In 1830 Stone removed to Bridgton, and became the principal of the Academy in which he had begun his education. During the two years of his work in this place he had John Albion Andrew, afterward the Governor of Massachusetts during the Civil War, as one of his pupils. In 1832 he became the minister of the Union Church in East Machias, in the eastern part of the State. Here he had many intelligent and educated persons in his congregation. One of these was Ezra Abbott, afterward a scholarly and learned professor in the Harvard Divinity School. Others were Dr. Samuel Harris, a professor in the theological department of Yale, Dr. Roswell Dwight Hitchcock, president of the Union Theological Seminary, and George F. Talbot, one of the leading lawyers of Maine. There were also the fathers of Professor George Harris of the Andover Theological School, and Professor Arlo Bates of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In this intelligent community, with its popular Academy, Mr. Stone found congenial society and an appreciative congregation. He zealously advocated peace, temperance, and anti-slavery; but he was very popular, and the whole county belonged to his parish, in fact. It was not uncommon for people to drive from ten to twenty miles to hear him preach, and his acquaintance was sought by all the thoughtful and cultivated persons in a widely extended region. After the killing of Lovejoy at Alton, in 1837, Stone took an uncompromising position against slavery, and devoted much time to the advancement of this reform. In 1839 he was a delegate to the National Anti-Slavery Society in New York, and made the acquaintance of Garrison, Whittier, Edmund Quincy, and other leaders in that movement.

As was almost inevitable at that time, Stone was led into

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sympathy and active co-operation with all the reforms and new ideas of the day. One of his sons has said of their influence at that time: "It is impossible now to realize the fermentation that was then going on in all the churches and political parties, and among all thoughtful men in the country. It was the beginning of the great struggle between freedom and the opposing powers that were bent on maintaining a statu quo, no matter how contrary to right and conscience. By the small bodies of reformers, who were making themselves manifest in various parts of New England, every institution, every theory, every established principle was made to give an account of itself, and to declare its reason for existence. New social theories were widely discussed. The transcendental philosophy was making itself known. The echo of all these discussions reached the little town of East Machias, and at once aroused the keenest interest in the minds of Mr. Stone and his young friends." The result was that his ministerial brethren began to chide Stone for not preaching in the conventional manner, then they proceeded to serious admonitions, and finally to expulsion from their fellowship, when he did not prove amenable to their discipline. This made no change in his congregation, and he became more popular because of the attitude of the other churches.

At this time Stone made the acquaintance and entered into correspondence with the transcendentalists in and about Boston. One of his correspondents was Mary Moody Emerson, the favorite aunt of Ralph Waldo Emerson, to whom many of his youthful letters were directed, who largely aided him in his education, and of whom he gave an account in one of his later papers. A letter written to her by Stone was partly printed in Emerson's short paper on "Transcendentalism" contained in the third number of the second volume of "The Dial." He is there spoken of as a Calvinist, but he shows himself to have been a strong tran-

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scendentalist. When the publication of "The Dial" was begun he was solicited to become a contributor, but he only wrote for it the one paper already mentioned.

Stone's reputation as a preacher continued to spread, and he was welcomed into all the liberal pulpits in Maine. His house became one of the stations of the "underground railroad," then in active operation throughout New England. In 1845 he was employed for a number of months as the agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and as such he lectured in many of the towns in the eastern part of that State. While thus engaged he preached in the pulpit of Dr. Channing, and also for the First Church in Salem. In the summer of 1846 he received a unanimous call to the Salem church, which he reluctantly accepted, not having hitherto been identified with the Unitarian body, in fellowship with which this church had been from the beginning of that movement. In Salem he came into connection with a highly intelligent company of men and women, and his intellectual tastes found full opportunity for expression. Although Stone was known as belonging to the anti-slavery party, his devotion to its principles alienated his more conservative listeners, and especially after the nomination of General Jackson for the presidency. In a sermon preached in April, 1851, after the rendition of a fugitive slave in Boston, he spoke his whole mind on this subject, with the result that he withdrew from the church in 1852. A few months later he was settled in the small town of Bolton, where he had a congregation of farmers. In 1854 he published twenty-four of the sermons he had preached in Salem; and two years later the American Unitarian Association published in its "Devotional Library" a work from his pen, entitled "The Rod and the Staff." These volumes were thoroughly transcendental in their spirit, and expressed the religious teachings of that movement in one of its noblest forms. They were of a high intellectual

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order, and they were written in a fine literary style. In one of the sermons he said: "What is he, this devout mystic, but the infant seer amidst an infinite of mingled midnight and morning? The spirit, which eye seeth not, which ear heareth not, which understanding conceiveth not, is really felt always, transcending all, penetrating all, concealed like the finer essences and lives of things, yet like them appearing in the forms which it quickens, and the fruit which it fills and ripens. . . . Faith is the very thing which our age wants; faith in the perennial inspiration, faith in the real presence of the One Spirit." Again he speaks as a genuine transcendentalist: "We may not claim the truth as fully possessed; we may not decline research and change. To change, we know full well, men are averse; to capricious or wilful change, with good reason; but to change, as effect of broader prospect and clearer sight, we should continually aspire. Let us not shrink, then, from going up some height to which older creeds did not reach, to which the guides of our youth did not point, and below which the past of our lives has been spent."

While living in Salem, Stone welcomed to his home many of the transcendentalists. Bronson Alcott held conversations in his parlors. Among his guests were Emerson, Hawthorne, Whittier, Garrison, Phillips, and others of that group of reformers. In the same place George Ripley and Charles A. Dana presented the methods of Brook Farm to those who were eager to hear of the claims of community life. In Bolton Mr. Stone had less connection with the leaders of thought in his time, but he gave closer heed to his studies, for he had leisure for a more thorough study of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, Homer and Plato, the Greek tragedians, as well as the later German and French philosophers, and the great writers of English. Almost every book in his library shows the marks of his careful scholarship, in the numerous marginal notes and references,

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which he was in the habit of making, as well as the more elaborate comments it was his custom to commit to paper. Nor did the fact that his parish consisted chiefly of rural people, whose education had been mainly that of the common schools, make any difference in the quality of his sermons. He always gave of his best, whether his congregation listened or not, and without regard to the number who might come to hear him.

As to so many others of the anti-slavery workers, the Civil War gave courage and hope to Mr. Stone. At its beginning three of his sons went out to the defence of the national cause; and the next year a fourth followed, who returned not again. When Lincoln was renominated Mr. Stone voted for him, the first time in thirty years. He rejoiced greatly in the Proclamation of Emancipation, and felt that therein the nation had been redeemed. He carried on his parish duties faithfully and lovingly until 1859, when he went from Bolton to the only Unitarian church in Connecticut, in the little town of Brooklyn, where Samuel J. May had been one of his predecessors. He remained there until 1871, when he returned to Bolton, and there lived in rural quiet and simplicity until his death, November 13, 1895.

In 1853 Stone gave a course of lectures on English literature before the Lowell Institute, in Boston. He treated the subject in an original manner, showing a breadth of insight and a completeness of knowledge that made the course of great value to the listeners. These lectures were never published. In 1866 Mr. Stone had conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity by his Alma Mater. During his later years he preached occasionally, and gave lyceum lectures when opportunity offered.

Writing of Stone after his death, Professor Nicholas P. Gilman, editor of "The New World," said of him: "Dr. Stone was a born Platonist and transcendentalist: and the

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movement of thought which did so much between 1830 and 1850 to broaden and quicken the thought of America found in him a ready convert and an inspired herald. . . . With one strong beat of its wings, his seraph-thought rose to the supernal ether of divine principles and celestial ideals, and there moved about rejoicingly, beholding the fair intelligences of the heavenly vision. Though the common people may have heard gladly such a sublime gospel, it is no cause for wonder that they did not always hear understandingly. So this 'modest, retiring, deep, and interior man,' in O. B. Frothingham's words, 'a child of the spiritual philosophy which he faithfully lived in and up to, and preached with singular fulness and richness of power,' had to be content with effectually reaching a few. Having the happy gift of eternal youth he looked always around to friendly life in all who met him. . . . His transcendental faith had no hostility for the late words of natural science; his interest was intelligent and active in the great events of the outside world. But in the pure, substantial sphere of the noblest books of all time he found his dearest joy and his deepest life."

## XIV

### JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL

To the third number of the second volume of "The Dial" James Russell Lowell contributed three sonnets, signed with his initials. The first of these is dated April, 1819, but this is probably a misprint for 1839. Two other sonnets in "The Dial" have been credited to him, the first being in the third number of the first volume, signed M. L. O., and addressed "To a voice heard in Mount Auburn, July 1839;" and the second is in the first number of the second volume, signed "Hugh Peters," and prefaced by the motto, "To die is gain." When asked, in 1885, to give a list of his contributions to "The Dial," he replied: "I would gladly help you if I could, but have no memoranda which would help *me*. I think you have noted all my contributions to 'The Dial.' After forty-five years one has forgotten much and wishes he had never had so much to forget! Till you reminded me of it I had forgotten that I had written for 'The Dial' at all. The teeth of memory loosen and drop out like those of the jaws." When a list of the articles and contributors was sent him, his reply was as indefinite as before: "I have read your article concerning 'The Dial' with great interest. It revived many benumbed memories and associations, but none that would help me to say that your list of what I wrote for it was not complete." It seems probable that all the five sonnets noted above were written by Lowell, though in regard to the first two there is some uncertainty.

Lowell was too young to have been a member of the transcendental club, and he was not intimately connected at that time with the group of persons who edited "The Dial." In

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some of his letters he appears to disclaim any connection with the transcendentalists, and his biographer says he felt called upon to defend Maria White, who became his wife, against the charge of being a transcendentalist, because such a charge implied the reproach of being a mere visionary. In an article on Thomas Middleton, however, he describes the poet as one who, "in the silent deeps of his soul, listens to those mysterious pulses which, from one central heart, send life and beauty through the finest veins of the universe, and utters truths to be sneered at, perchance, by contemporaries, but which become religion to posterity." This is a very good definition of the transcendentalist, and its significance is increased by an account he gives in a letter written in September, 1842, of a conversation on spiritual matters. "As I was speaking, the whole system rose up before me, like a vague Destiny looming from the abyss. I never before so clearly felt the spirit of God in me and around me. The whole room seemed to me full of God. The air seemed to wave to and fro with the presence of Something, I knew not what. I spoke with the calmness and clearness of a prophet."

It is evident that Lowell did not often have such visions or whatever they may be called; but his strong emotions, his vivid imagination, and his nervous temperament, were all calculated to make him an idealist. He had the feeling of the true transcendentalist, that what he wrote was not his own, but was given to him from some higher source. His biographer says of the time when he was writing his first prose work, "Conversations on Some of the Old Poets:" "So fluent was he, so unaware of any effort, and so swept away for the time being by the stream of his ideas, that he seemed to himself as one possessed, and more than once he hinted darkly that he was not writing the book, but was the spokesman for sages and poets who used him as their means of communication. The visionary faculty which he pos-



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sessed could easily be confused at this time with the half-rapt condition of mind fed with emotional ardor." And in one of his letters, Lowell wrote: "I have always been a very Quaker in following the Light and writing only when the Spirit moved."

This conviction that he was in some degree the mouth-piece of divine power gave meaning to Lowell's conception of the poet as a seer; and he felt called to use his gifts as if they were sent to him from a higher source, especially in maintaining the cause of human freedom. His biographer says that in his early years as a poet Lowell held "his head high and was intoxicated with the spirit of idealism." In harmony with this was Lowell's statement about his early poem on "Prometheus." "I have made it *radical*, and I believe that no poet in this age can write much that is good unless he give himself up to this tendency." By "radical" he evidently meant insight and prophecy, the breaking away from tradition and custom, and the interpretation of the future by means of the poet's gift as a seer. This tendency led him to criticise the religion of his time or, rather, religion in its institutional form as the church. Writing soon after leaving college, he said: "I am an infidel to the Christianity of to-day." During the whole anti-slavery period he was in a condition of "impatient reaction against conventional religion." In this he was fully in harmony with the other transcendentalists, who rejected the forms and rituals of religion in proportion to the degree of their trust in the spirit. He regarded the churches as false to their trust, and as putting conventionality in place of spiritual reality. In his "Conversations on the Old Poets" he said that the church now needs reforming as much as in Luther's time, and that the reforms must come from within. "I will never enter a church," he wrote there, "from which a prayer goes up for the prosperous only, or for the unfortunate among the oppressors, and not for the oppressed and

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fallen." Lowell's position we may fully realize when we find him writing to Longfellow: "Christ has declared war against the Christianity of the world, and it must down. There is no help for it. The Church, that great bulwark of our practical Paganism, must be reformed from foundation to weathercock." This statement is much more explicit than the one he made in the "Conversations," and it was the result of his active connection with the anti-slavery movement.

Although Lowell made no explicit statement of his connection with the transcendentalists, partly perhaps because his tastes were too distinctly æsthetic and literary for that, yet what he says about the church and about his being the mouth-piece of the Spirit in his poetical work classes him with them without question. That he did not join their party shows his independence and the breadth of his interests; but he could not keep himself aloof from the most vital literary and intellectual movement of his day. He grew up in the midst of the transcendental excitement and discussion, and it had a deep influence upon his mind and character. While not definitely connected with the movement, he was a transcendentalist in his philosophy and in his religion, as well as in his poetical methods.

## XV

### JOHN MILTON MACKIE

THE author of the essay on Shelley, in the last number of the first volume of "The Dial," was John Milton Mackie who was born in Wareham, Mass., December 19, 1813. He graduated from Brown University in 1832 at the head of his class, was a student at Andover Theological Seminary in 1833-34, spent some months at Berlin in 1834, and was a tutor at Brown in 1834-35. He studied law, but seems not to have entered upon its practice. He went to New York about 1836 and devoted himself to literature for twenty years. In 1845 he published a biography of Leibnitz, in 1848 a life of Samuel Gorton in Sparks's series of American biographies, in 1855 a volume of Spanish travels, in 1856 a life of Schamyl, in 1857 an account of the Chinese insurrection of that year, and in 1864 a volume of Southern travel. He was a contributor to "The North American Review," "The American Whig Review," "The Christian Review," and other periodicals.

In 1858, his health having become impaired, he moved to Great Barrington, Mass., bought the Pine Cliff estate, and devoted himself to agriculture. He wrote for various papers and magazines, but his chief occupation was that of breeding fine Jersey cattle, and he was one of the earliest importers of these animals. He was one of the founders of the American Jersey Cattle Club, and its president from 1876 to 1879. He was an Episcopalian in his church connections, and had no intimate relations with the writers for "The Dial." Although he was an admirer of Emerson and Margaret Fuller, he was not a transcendentalist. He died at his home in Great Barrington, August 25, 1894.

## XVI

### JOHN FRANCIS TUCKERMAN

THE brief article on "Music of the Winter," at the end of the first volume of "The Dial," was the only one written by John F. Tuckerman for that publication. He seems to have had no close connection with the transcendentalists, and it was probably through his acquaintance with some one of them that he came to write this paper for its pages. He was born in Boston, June 13, 1817, graduated at Harvard in 1837, and at the Medical School connected therewith in 1841. Immediately after completing his medical studies he entered the United States Navy as an assistant surgeon, and served on the "John Adams" at the South American, African, and other naval stations. In 1847 he was made Past Assistant Surgeon, and was stationed at the Naval Hospital in Chelsea, Massachusetts. In October of that year he was appointed to the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery at Washington, to which city he removed. In the autumn of 1851 he resigned from the navy, and went to live in Salem, having married a daughter of Leverett Saltonstall of that city. He held several business positions of responsibility in Boston, as treasurer of various institutions, and manager in a large number of private trusts. He was a man of distinguished integrity, and remarkable for his accuracy in the management of accounts. He died in Salem, June 27, 1885.

Tuckerman was much interested in music, as his article will indicate. He had an exquisite tenor voice, and for thirty-five years he was active in the musical interests of Salem. He was president of the Salem Academy of Music

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in 1854, and the next year of the Salem Choral Society. In 1870 he organized a chorus for the study of Mass music. For ten years he had charge of the music of the North Church in that city, then for twenty-five years of Grace Church, of which he was for many years a vestryman. He made an extensive collection of church music for his choir work, and he wrote much music himself, one volume of his compositions being privately printed. "Dr. Tuckerman's influence in the cultivation of a purer and higher style of music in our city," says one of his friends, "soon became apparent, and the aid of his voice was early called for. He devoted himself for years to choir work with most successful results, bringing to its duties an exquisite musical taste and culture, and devotion to its interests rarely seen. He was called to the presidency of several of the musical organizations of our city, filling the respective positions with peculiar grace and dignity. He was ever ready to respond to the many calls upon him as an ardent lover of music and a generous and disinterested patron of the arts. His compositions of sacred music are of a high order of merit, and while best fitted for use by the more accomplished singer and best appreciated by the cultivated musical ear, they will, we think, stand high as ranked by competent musical critics."

## XVII

### ELIZA THAYER CLAPP

IN the first number of the second volume of "The Dial" were printed five poems by Eliza Thayer Clapp. These were "Two Hymns," "Clouds," "The Future is Better than the Past," and "August Showers." In a personal letter Miss Clapp said of these poems: "I was among the earliest and most enthusiastic readers of 'The Dial.' I became acquainted with Mr. Emerson about the year 1840, and, encouraged by him, did contribute several poems to 'The Dial' of July, 1841. For thirty years I was a devoted student and ardent disciple of Mr. Emerson." Miss Clapp's poems were shown to Emerson by a mutual friend, and on October, 1840, he wrote her the following letter, which, with those that follow, has never before been published:

"These little poems which Mrs. L. has shown me, perhaps half in confidence, are so pleasing and even beautiful to me, that I cannot think it worth while to send my thanks through any third person, but must acknowledge their merit, my kind friend, to yourself. I take so much joy in good verses that I believe I always open new ones with a certain slowness of belief, as if it were too good news to be true that more poetry had been written, whilst the right way of thinking undoubtedly is, that every one of us is at last a poet, how much soever he has been and still is wronged and hindered from his own, — from his thought and his expression of his thought. These poems show your possession of both gifts already to a high degree, and the best promise of a greater success. They please me first by their objectiveness, to use a word of the day. The common fault

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of our young writers is, that they have no eyes ; they write about themselves, their own emotions, their thoughts on their own fortunes, and nature they cannot see for its own beauty or detach its universal meaning from its import to their temporary fortunes. They do not yet know that they have a universal nature within or over their petty one which they now exercise, and so the directest interest in every general and remote fact in the world, as it is a symbol or word to express some law of this Divine Life of theirs.

“ But you, my friend, have a true eye and can see the fact as it appears. You are content with the beauty of the sign, out of a secret faith in your heart that it has noble meanings which will surely unlock themselves to patience and trust. I am struck throughout these verses with the fidelity of observation, and I congratulate you on the habit because I reckon it a constant source of happiness. Then, the verses please me because they advance all the time. I have a fact, an honest experience of the writer’s in every line, and not poetic diction. I like the precision of the thought and the simplicity and elegance, for the most part, of the expression. Before I return them (for I think I must keep them a little while longer to read again) I believe I shall take the liberty to mark a few words or lines which struck me as imperfect. The stars and the clouds — those wonderful omnipresent companions of our life — seem to have spoken to you some of their best lessons, which you have reported without adding to or taking from. I shall have more to say on this poetry before it goes back, but I felt that it was high time to send you word that the manuscript was safe, and that it gratified me so much.

“ Mrs. L. asked if I would give you the names of any books which I thought would interest you. One of the most remarkable books of our times is certainly Bettine’s letters, — ‘ Correspondence of Goethe with a Child,’ translated by herself into English. I own a copy of it, and will gladly lend

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it, to you one of these days if you have not seen it. But my book is now sailing in a very eccentric and retarded orbit, and I know not when it will come back to me. St. Augustine's 'Confessions,' of which there has been recently a new edition in English published, is a noble spiritual book. Herbert's 'Poems' you have doubtless read. Sir Thomas Browne's 'Religio Medici,' and the other pieces of his in one volume of Mr. Young's, 'Library of Old English Writers,' is one of my favorites. So is eminently Plutarch's 'Morals,' or the 'Miscellanies of Plutarch,' a book in five little volumes, which was once very rare in this country, but is now becoming more common. Coleridge's 'Literary Biography' and 'The Friend' (especially the third volume) you have no doubt tried. I venture to send you a little work in French, which I have borrowed for a few weeks of a friend, which is certainly an extraordinary production of the modern France. A bolder or more poetic note is rarely struck. It is the work of a woman still living and writing under the fictitious name of George Sand.

"When you have any more verses that please you, will you not allow me the pleasure of reading them? If I had any verses quite in readiness — for I sometimes venture — I should send them to you by way of challenge."

This letter is of much interest — perhaps more so than any given us by his biographer — as showing us how he dealt with the youthful persons who wrote for "The Dial," how he encouraged them, how great his anticipations of their skill and genius, and how completely he put himself on a level with them. It has been often said that he was always expecting great things from the new poets he was discovering, but his generous treatment of them must have been helpful to them, far more so than a severely critical method, of which he was undoubtedly capable.

In a letter dated February 8, 1841, Emerson said: "I return thankfully, though so tardily, these poems. They



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seem to me simple and genuine poems of sentiment and reflection. As a piece of metrical art the lines beginning, 'A night of stars,' are perhaps the best; but the piece marked 1 [the first of the 'Two Hymns'], and the verses to the 'Clouds,' are more agreeable to me, on a reperusal this morning. I thought I had noticed, on reading them before, some careless or unequal expressions, but I have not found them to-day. On looking them over yourself, I think you will feel less objection than you expressed the other day to committing the sheets to Miss Fuller's discretion for the enjoyment of many who can read but cannot write."

As a result of this encouragement the poems were sent to "The Dial." A personal acquaintance followed, and Emerson visited Miss Clapp at her home in Dorchester, now a part of Boston. She sent him other poems, as may be seen from the following letter, dated February 23, 1842:

"Thanks, though late, yet warm thanks to my kind friend for her letter, and for her verses. I fear that the state of mind you describe in your letter, making poetry seem hardly legitimate, because it is the exception and not the rule, is not true of you alone or of a few, but of almost all who write. Certainly it is not a right state, and must not be acquiesced in. The high states should be the habits; and perhaps we must learn to be a little more austere to our love of trifles, and certainly must turn a more faithful, hopeful eye to that inner Fountain which yields to our unbelief so slowly its waters, and yet a single drop from which may at every hour revolutionize, regenerate us, make us altogether another manner of person, not modify our works but transfigure the workman and lift him into perception and sympathy with new parts of nature. The day will come when our poetry will be no longer academical or an accomplishment and a resource, but will be our speech, because we cannot bear to express ourselves trivially and partially, but wish an utterance in harmony with all things. You see that I like your

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discontent very well, and think nothing more becoming to us than impatience of our limits, and faith that we shall outgo them all. Meantime, 'in these dregs of Romulus,' I am very thankful for such good poetry as you send me, and especially 'The Leaves,' which is a true poem, new and true in matter and form. Unless I am sharply forbidden — and you will not have that cruelty — I mean to print it in our little journal, that all my brothers and sisters may read it to whom I cannot read it audibly. So shall you be a minister of joy to many. The other verses to your poor friend, although, the subject considered, they are a very amusing *jeu d'esprit*, yet have to my ear a fine pervading rhythm or music, fit for the Ode. Yet neither these nor 'The Dying Artist' content me like 'The Leaves.' I am sure you must continue to write, and I shall be heartily indebted to you, when you will confide more of your verses to me."

Only one of the poems referred to in this letter, that on "Autumn Leaves," was printed in "The Dial," but they are all to be found in "Essays, Letters, and Poems," privately printed in 1888. The one Emerson mentions as addressed to "your poor friend" is evidently that entitled, "To R. W. Emerson." Its opening verses may find a place here :

"Graceful and sweet and strong,  
Poet and Sage, thy lessons glow,  
The sheen refined of autumn's sun,  
The dawning day's ethereal flow.  
Thoughts of distant eras come,  
Veiled in mystical star-shine,  
Filling the imperial dome,  
Spirit-hour of earliest time ;  
Hour of faith with beauty's zone,  
Faith that scorns the weeper, Hope,  
And high resolves that bravely cope  
With the far sky, that soft and fine  
Involve us in its curve sublime.

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No vexed nor turbid thought,  
No passion's muddied sea,  
No dreams of foam and fury wrought  
Win melody from thee,  
But the quiet deeps of soul,  
But the spirit's ocean roll."

The closing verse gives evidence of Miss Clapp's deeper religious convictions, and of her philosophic insight :

" In a narrow tent  
Linger we, and pensively,  
Time and time through wind-torn rent,  
Glorious earth and sky we see ;  
But the spirit's flight is bound,  
And as a majestic strain,  
Music to the artist dear,  
Pours its finer notes in vain,  
Falling on uncultured ear  
But as thrilling rush of sound, —  
So 'mid wonder and believing,  
Losing much and much receiving,  
Breathless with joy, as thought on thought  
Move on in crystal form inwrought,  
Sweet shuddering as the stately sweep  
Unfolds new meanings deep in deep,  
Yet firm in reason's grand repose,  
As softly shines, as simply glows,  
As morning star or opening rose."

Miss Clapp's poem in "The Dial" entitled "The Future is Better than the Past," has had a somewhat singular history. For many years it was credited to Emerson, and with no denial from him of its authorship. It seems probable that he had forgotten who was the author, or the fact that it was attributed to him had not come to his attention. When the investigations were begun that have resulted in this book no one could say who wrote this poem, and Mr. Emerson's family could not positively affirm or deny that it was his. It first appeared with his name in the "Hymns

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for the Church," compiled by Frederic H. Hedge and Frederic D. Huntington, in 1853. Then it found a place in the "Hymns of the Spirit" prepared by Samuel Longfellow and Samuel Johnson. It also gained entrance as Emerson's into Dr. James Martineau's "Hymns of Praise and Prayer." In many other forms Emerson had the credit of this fine poem, with promise that it would finally establish itself as unquestionably his.

Eliza Thayer Clapp was born in Dorchester, Mass., November 13, 1811, and she always lived a quiet home-life in that suburb of Boston. The transcendental movement brought a new life to her Unitarian faith, and she entered into its spirit with zeal. As a Sunday-school teacher in the First Parish of her native town, located at Meeting-House Hill, she had charge for many years of a class of girls ten to fifteen years of age, and she prepared her own lessons for their instruction. These were published as "Words in a Sunday-School," in 1842. In 1845, another book, prepared in the same manner, was published in New York as "Studies in Religion." These little books were received with much favor by a small circle of readers, and were used as text-books in instructing others. Dr. W. H. Furness, of Philadelphia, greatly admired the second of these books, and for many years kept a copy of it lying on his study-table for constant reference. After Miss Clapp's death Dr. F. H. Hedge wrote of her: "I entertain the very highest opinion of Miss Clapp. Of all my female friends — and indeed of all my friends — there was none who seemed to me to possess more profound spiritual insight. Especially her 'Studies in Religion' were a revelation to me, at a very important period of my life, of the most weighty and searching religious truths. In these, I can sincerely say, she was my instructress. I shall ever bless her memory."

Miss Clapp wrote little for publication. She was an occasional contributor to "The Christian Register," the

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Unitarian paper published in Boston, and she now and then wrote hymns for ordinations and other similar occasions. After her death a small volume of her "Essays, Letters, and Poems" was printed for circulation amongst her friends. She rarely went from home, came little into contact with the literary world, and had no literary ambitions. Hers was almost wholly a life of interior experiences and growth, and of more and more of religious aspiration. During a greater part of her adult life her chief intellectual contact with others was in connection with the classes she conducted in Dorchester. These were in history, literature, and philosophy. One of her friends, in a personal letter, has described a class to which she belonged for about a dozen years, beginning in 1873: "Miss Clapp read to us various works, principally on philosophy, religious history, and religion in connection with philosophy, and by her eloquence and clear vision inspired us with something of her own enthusiasm. Those meetings formed one of my greatest pleasures. No public reading of any of her most suggestive papers gave any idea of what she was to her class. Sometimes she seemed almost inspired, and we would go home really uplifted. She also had classes of girls in history, and their enthusiasm for her knew no bounds. They all look upon those hours spent with Miss Clapp as rich in interest and mental stimulus, as well as historical knowledge. I never knew a person to have more warm friends than Miss Clapp. Her pupils loved her devotedly." Others have given like testimony to the value of Miss Clapp's gifts as a teacher, and to the depth of her personal influence. These classes met in her own house, and she taught them for the pleasure of it, without remuneration. The number of persons who thus came under her influence was not large, but it was of the greatest importance to those who had the benefit of her teaching.

Miss Clapp was widely acquainted with English and Ger-

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man literature, and her knowledge was thorough and discriminating. She greatly enjoyed intellectual society, and she was intimately acquainted with Elizabeth Peabody and W. H. Channing, as well as with other transcendentalists. She had a special liking for philosophy, and a rare gift for mastering its intricacies. She devoted much time to its study, and her metaphysical investigations were pursued assiduously and appreciatively. She was a person of decided individuality of thought, and was not content to accept the opinions current around her. She says of herself in a personal letter: "I have always in the most curious way been out of harmony with the thought of my mates. When I was sixteen I was a belligerent Unitarian, while my friends were mild seceders from orthodoxy [in which she was herself educated]. In my twenties, when Unitarianism was in the ascendant, I was caught off into the aerial regions of Mr. Emerson and the iconoclastic zeal of Mr. Parker. Now, when a generation has grown up to apotheosize Mr. Emerson, I am finding more substantial food in an opposite philosophy." This change of opinion was not due to want of sympathy with others, for Miss Clapp had this quality in a large degree, but because she was a student who was always searching for truth.

During the transcendental period Miss Clapp was a zealous student of the Oriental religions. Not finding herself satisfied with these and with transcendentalism, she turned to the Christian mystics, who more and more satisfied her as she went on in life. In 1854 she read Ephraim L. Frothingham's "The Law of Tri-Personality," and a little later his "Philosophy as Absolute Science founded in the Universal Laws of Being," which was published in Boston in 1864. She found much satisfaction in these works, and for a number of years she accepted their teachings with deepest conviction. Gradually, however, she grew away from this philosophy, and found in the mystics what was most

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satisfying to her. She silently withdrew from her Unitarian connections, except socially, and found in the Trinitarian theology that form of belief that was most acceptable, though she connected herself with no church.

As an interesting phase of the effect produced on some minds by transcendentalism, the following personal letter is worthy of perusal: "My own literary development, slight as it was, was arrested not only by the circumstances of life, but also by a total revolution some twenty-five years ago [this was written in 1884] in my entire habit of thought. I came at that time under the influence of a philosophic statement which revealed to me the falsity of transcendentalism so called, and the intellectual and moral weakness to which it leads. I am speaking of this philosophy on its moral and religious side, not as a phase in philosophic development only; and in my small way I came to the end of it. Mr. Emerson's method, as translated into practice by his ordinary disciples, was to seek the presence and authority of spiritual law in one's own consciousness, and to consider the innermost facts of the consciousness as one in nature with God, and consequently divine in essence and infallible in its moral guidance. This analysis of the consciousness, apparently so lofty and sublime, and actually so full of charm and fascination, drew into its magic circle the intuitively religious, those to whom external observances were outworn toys — the more delicate and subjectively constituted moral natures, offended by the hollowness and insincerity of social forms, and the young and imaginative, to whom common life and received maxims are prosaic and hard; and the free movement into untried paths of thought is itself an allurements and reward. Hurt and disorder followed the releasing of ordinary minds and temperaments from the bondage of accredited and invested wisdom; and the serene star of Emerson's thought was often travestied by lurid meteors. Minds trained in that school became often assertive and dogmatic of their ignorance only.

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Some gain there was in greater simplicity and directness, in speech and act ; but the predominance of feeling over thought robbed thought of its vigor and filled its domain with the vagaries of fancy. Yet I am glad to have been one of those caught up on the wild wings of that cyclone, though it was some time before I and my friends touched solid ground again. It swept clean away all mere traditional beliefs and pretences. It trained minds to the habit of seeking for first principles in action and thought ; and though I fully believe that the logical outcome of the transcendental movement is the externalism and materialism of present thought and life — its superficial beauty and spiritual shallowness — yet I also fully believe that this is a preparation, through antagonism and opposition, for a coming statement of spiritual truth as a revelation to the Reason, which shall coincide with the revelation made to sentiment and imagination in the rites and dogmas of Christianity. I did live through the transcendental movement and, according to my capacity, was a thorough transcendentalist ; but it lies in my memory now as a very vivid phase of spiritual and religious experience, which I value as having brought me into the condition to perceive the value and reality of objective truth."

The critical vigor of mind revealed in this letter prepares us to accept the statement of one of her friends, who says : "Miss Clapp's rare ability would have enabled her to fill honorably a large public sphere, had she sought it, but she lived in a quiet and even retired way. Yet her personal influence was very distinctly felt as a stimulus to intellectual and moral growth by the circle that drank from her unfailing spring of inspiration. Miss Clapp was a woman of rare character, as remarkable for her modesty, her moral insight, her power of imagination, as for her intellectual energy."

One of the best of all the statements of the motives and the spirit of transcendentalism was that contained in Miss Clapp's "Dial" poem, "The Future is Better than the Past."



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It gave hope, courage, and faith. It was optimistic and forward-looking, and gave confidence in what is good and beautiful. It turned the eyes from the past to the future, and made the present a time of promise. All this found noble expression in this little poem.

## XVIII

### JONATHAN ASHLEY SAXTON

THE author of the article in the first number of the second volume of "The Dial," on "Prophecy, Transcendentalism, Progress," was Jonathan A. Saxton, who was born in Greenfield, Massachusetts, January 12, 1795, studied for two years at Yale, and graduated at Harvard in 1822. He was a lawyer by profession, but it was always distasteful to him, though he practised it more or less at different periods of his life. In 1823 he became one of the editors of the "Franklin Herald," and in 1825 he established the "Franklin Post and Christian Freeman" in Greenfield, the latter paper being devoted to the advancement of the interests of Unitarianism in the western part of Massachusetts. In 1827 it was transferred to Northampton as the "Old Hampshire Post," but it was not successful. During the anti-Masonic excitement he was the editor of a paper in Troy, New York. In 1835 he published in Boston the "Child's Book of the Atmosphere." He was a frequent contributor to the "Boston Quarterly Review," the "Democratic Review," and the anti-slavery papers. He was an able and forceful writer, an interesting speaker on social questions, an ardent abolitionist, and one of the earliest advocates of suffrage for women. Margaret Fuller says in a letter already quoted, that Emerson regarded Saxton's "long prosa" in "The Dial" with contempt.

His son, Samuel Willard Saxton, says of his father's reformatory and literary activities, in a personal letter: "He was always deeply interested in all the reforms of the day, and was a radical of the radicals. He was one of

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the earliest abolitionists, voted for James G. Birney for President, and was a subscriber to the 'Emancipator' and 'Liberator.' All movements for reforms enlisted his sympathies, and being a friend of Mr. Ripley, he was much interested in the Brook Farm movement. He was always writing something; on the subject of slavery a great deal, politics, co-operation, temperance, all subjects pertaining to social reform and the elevation of humanity. In the days of the Lyceum he had something of a local fame as a lecturer, and was invited to the various towns in Franklin County. He always spoke what he believed, but his subjects were not always popular. Born a Unitarian, he became a radical in religious matters, and was a sincere admirer of Theodore Parker, and all the leaders of thought who succeeded him."

Rufus Saxton, a son of Jonathan A. Saxton, born in 1824, graduated at West Point and was the military governor of the Department of the South from 1862 to 1865. He was made a Brigadier General in 1865, and was in active service throughout the Civil War. When he was the military governor in South Carolina his father was appointed his private secretary, and rejoiced to be able to go to the place that had been the hot-bed of slavery, and to do what he could toward the elevation of the freedmen for whose emancipation he had labored so long in a different way. Samuel Willard Saxton, born in 1829, became a printer, and was employed in the office of "The Harbinger" at Brook Farm for three years. In 1862 he became a Captain and was on the staff of his brother Rufus, gained the rank of Major, and continued in the military service until 1866. Then he was with General O. O. Howard in the work of the Freedman's Bureau. Becoming a clerk in the Treasury Department, he rose to the head of the Comptroller's office therein, which position he held until 1886.

As will be seen from his article in "The Dial," Jonathan

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A. Saxton was a transcendentalist. He was much interested in philosophical questions, and his paper indicates that he thought for himself. He was chiefly interested, however, in applying the principles of transcendentalism to practical reforms, as is indicated when he says: "The transcendental philosophy alone legitimates human freedom, and vindicates, and at the same time assures, social progress." He wrote for "The Harbinger," and his name appeared as one of its regular contributors. In the second number of that journal was printed an address he had delivered at the laying of the corner-stone of a dwelling-house. It shows how thoroughly he was in sympathy with the associationists at Brook Farm, and wherein he would modify their teachings by his ardent transcendentalism. "Our dwellings are now symbols," he said, "not of brotherhood, but of isolation. They utter not the harmonies but the discords of humanity. They present not the tokens of a true human society, but of a society distracted, discordant, fragmentary, competitive. They speak of hostility, sordid industry, selfish rivalry, every one for himself. . . . To none of these purposes,—to no object of mere selfishness,—to none which is not in harmony with universal man, is the house, whose corner-stone has now been laid, destined. In the deep, irrepressible conviction, which, what thinking man, not wholly absorbed in selfishness has not sometimes felt pressing heavily upon his mind, that the present social system is a falsehood, at war with man's true development, and that if something better answering the wants and aspirations is not to be obtained, then is society a miserable failure, and man's true hope in a chaos come again; from such a conviction issued the plan of which the building now commenced is the first step towards the completion. To the earnest striving for a true society, a better and more authentic social union, a truer equality—to a nobler, because harmonious, co-operative, self-compensating industry—to the unfolding, in some

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degree, of the neglected truth, on the perception and application of which the fortunes of humanity must henceforth depend, that society, in its just and high idea, is but one extended household, wherein the welfare of each and all is best promoted by the friendliness, fidelity, mutual truth, and helpfulness of each and all ; to the effort for a truer and higher culture ; to hospitality, to charity, to love ; to the idea, in short, that the kingdom of God is to be on the earth as it is in heaven ; to these it is devoted and consecrated."

This conception of the individual house as the centre of social activities, of the family as finding its chief motive in the moral renovation of the community, seems to have been in some sort carried out by Saxton in connection with his occupation as a farmer in Deerfield, to which a considerable part of his life was devoted. He died in that town, September 22, 1874.

## XIX

### WILLIAM BATCHELDER GREENE

IN the third number of the second volume of "The Dial" was printed an article on "First Principles" by William Batchelder Greene, then minister of the Unitarian church at Brookfield, Mass. This was his only contribution to "The Dial," but his life was of such interest, and so fully illustrates some of the tendencies of the time, that it may be told with some detail. James Freeman Clarke described him as "the author of various profound metaphysical, theological, and politico-economical works," and Col. T. W. Higginson mentions him as being "strikingly handsome and mercilessly opinionated." Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney says he was a "master of logic, and almost rivalled Socrates in winding an adversary up into a complete snarl."

Greene was born in Haverhill, Mass., April 4, 1819. His father was Nathaniel Greene, who edited newspapers in Concord and Portsmouth, N. H., and Haverhill, Mass., and in 1821 established the "Boston Statesman," the leading Democratic newspaper of the State for many years. He was post-master of Boston from 1829 to 1840 and from 1845 to 1849. In the latter year he went to Paris, where he was engaged in literary work to 1861, after which time he lived in Boston until his death, November 29, 1877. He wrote much for the periodicals of the day, mostly under the name of "Boscawen." He translated G. Sporzosi's "History of Italy," 1836; "Tales from the German," 1837; "Tales from the German, Italian, and French," 1843; and published "Improvisations" in 1852. Young Greene entered the West Point Military Academy, July 1, 1835, and continued

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his studies there until November 15, 1837, when he resigned without graduation, on account of ill-health. He was in the Florida war, being commissioned second lieutenant in the Seventh U. S. Infantry, July 18, 1839, and resigned November 20, 1841.

"He told me himself," writes Elizabeth P. Peabody in her "Reminiscences of Dr. Channing," "that he had been commissioned at nineteen years of age and sent to the Florida war; and he had just been permitted to resign, because the surgeon of the army had pronounced him ill, with even small chance to get home to die. I learned later that he had graduated at West Point with high honors, was a profound mathematician, a keen student of the science of war and reader of military biography, especially of that of Napoleon Buonaparte. Otherwise he had little literary culture, his reading having been largely Lord Byron's and Shelley's poetry. 'Queen Mab,' he said, had been his gospel; and his theology also was Shelley's,—namely, that God is merely a complex of the laws of Nature. But his life in Florida had brought him to deeper truth. He was lieutenant to the celebrated Captain Bonneville, whose Indian imperturbability of temperament, iron will, and despotic habits made an immense impression on his imagination, and commanded his admiration. Captain Bonneville soon left him in command of a regiment of desperadoes (who were, however, condignly ignorant), and had counselled him to keep himself entirely aloof from their familiarity, in order to preserve the prestige of his authority. In the long intervals between short periods of intense military activity, he was alone in his tent with only his books and thoughts, and was knowing to gigantic crimes being perpetrated by the State government of Florida, which wholly misled and hoodwinked the distant central government. In one of his meditations on Captain Bonneville's and his own power over his men, he said to himself: 'These brutal men are

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governed, not by the complex of my thoughts, nor by the complex of the laws of Nature, of which they know nothing, but by me, — a self-determining force, a free spirit, a person.' And at once it flashed like lightning upon him, 'And God is behind the complex of the laws of Nature, — a self-acting, free, supreme, infinite Person, to whom all finite persons are responsible.' He started from his seat, seized 'Queen Mab,' and flung it from the door of his tent into the far distance; and then rushed to his valise and took out the Bible that his mother had put into it when he left home, and for the first time opened it. He could not believe that it was by blind chance his eye fell on the words from Isaiah quoted by Christ in the synagogue of Nazareth on the day he commenced his ministry: 'The spirit of the Lord is upon me.' As he read these words he thought he heard a roar of artillery, and sprang to the door of his tent — to find that the roar was within his own soul! He then told of his reading the New Testament, and his study of the action of Jesus, and of the apostles after the Spirit had brought to their minds and interpreted to them the words of Jesus. Soon the desire arose in his own mind to leave the sphere of unhallowed activity in which he found himself, and to become a minister of Christ. So he prayed that God would take him out of his present bonds, for he could not himself break the oath of the soldier. 'And God has answered my prayer,' said he, 'and delivered me by means of this malarial fever, which incapacitates me as a soldier. I have not died, as the surgeon predicted I should; and already I have begun my theological studies in a private and desultory way, by studying out the history of the dogmas of the Christian Church, beginning with the Trinity.'"

It may be that this account is somewhat highly colored, but it gives the essential facts. After leaving Florida, Greene was for a short time at Brook Farm, and then he entered the Baptist Theological School at Newton. His



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studies led him to question some of the beliefs of the denomination with which he was connected, and especially that of the Trinity. He entered the Harvard Divinity School, from which he graduated in 1845, was ordained at Brookfield November 5 of the same year, and continued there until April 1, 1851. He then withdrew from the profession with which he had been connected, and devoted the rest of his life to reforms and to literary occupations. He married a daughter of Robert G. Shaw, a merchant prince of Boston, and a sister of Quincy Shaw.

Greene was a vigorous thinker and writer, much given to controversy, keenly logical, and with a love for metaphysical reasoning. During the period of his ministry he published a number of pamphlets, all of them controversial in their nature. The first of these was on the "Doctrine of Life," and appeared in 1843. It was an expansion of his article in "The Dial," and presented the same ideas in a somewhat different form, as a result of changes of opinion. It was rather conservative, with a leaning towards transcendentalism. In 1847 and the following year he published pamphlets on the Trinity and Incarnation, and also a refutation of Jonathan Edwards' theories in regard to freedom of the will. In these works he presented himself as distinctly a Unitarian, but with a marked love for independence and for criticism. In 1849 he sent out a pamphlet on "Transcendentalism," dedicated to Emerson. His definitions would not have been acceptable to the leaders of that school, and they indicate that he was far from being committed to the acceptance of its main positions. "Transcendentalism," he wrote, "is that form of philosophy which sinks God and Nature in man." Again: "A transcendentalist never reasons; he describes what he sees from his own point of view. So the word 'transcendentalist' relates not to a system of doctrines, but to a point of view; from which, nevertheless, a system of doctrines may be visible. This explains to us why so

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many, notwithstanding their desire, have been unable to read the writings of the new school. They have tried to find a system of doctrines when they ought to have looked for a point of view." "Transcendentalism affirms," he continues, "that the soul creates all things — man, the universe, all forms, all changes, and that this wonderful power is possessed by each individual soul." Then Greene begins to make his logic bear upon the metaphysical habits of the transcendentalists, and he shows to what they are brought by their own premises, to conclusions not acceptable to any of them. He goes on to say: "The man, therefore, who has attained to right knowledge is aware that there is no such thing as an individual soul. There is but one soul, which is the Over Soul, and this one soul is the animating principle of all bodies. When I am thoughtless, and immersed in things which are seen, I mistake the person who is writing this notice for myself; but when I am wise this illusion vanishes like the mists of the morning, and then I know that what I thought to be myself was only one of my manifestations, only a mode of my existence. It is I who bask in the day, grow in the tree, and murmur in the passing brook. Think not, my brother, that thou art diverse and alien from myself; it is only while we dwell in the outward appearance that we are two; when we consider the depths of our being, we are found to be the same, for the same self, the same vital principle animates us both (we speak as a transcendentalist). I create the universe, and thou, also, my brother, created the same; for we create not two universes, but one, for we two have but one soul: there is but one creative energy, which is above, and under, and through all." Then he discusses the several types of transcendentalism, as seen in India and in such men as Boehme. In conclusion, he states his own position as "spiritual life in Christ by making him, his truth, his doctrine, our nourishment, even as we sustain our natural lives by par-

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taking of natural food." In a fourth edition of this pamphlet, published in 1871, Greene more clearly defines his own position, when he says: "A little thought will convince the reader that the theory that the soul builds the body is as plausible and as probable as the other doctrine, that the body builds the soul. In short, subjective-idealism is just as true as materialism; and, we may add, just as false. As is evident, if we start with man alone, our reasoning will leave us, at the end, in transcendentalism (subjective-idealism); and if we take our departure in nature alone, we end, of necessity, in materialism; both partial, exclusive, and inadequate systems. The fact is, the body builds the soul, and the soul builds the body; but (we will permit ourselves to add) it is God who builds both."

His metaphysical studies found expression in a volume published by Greene in Boston during the year 1849, which he called "Remarks on the Science of History," followed by an "À Priori Autobiography." This work showed a decided mystical tendency, and was an attempt to interpret history in the light of individual spiritual experiences. In the form of the personal experiences and ideas of a man living at each of the great epochs of human history he summed up the psychological and spiritual growth of the race in civilization. His metaphysics did not desert Greene when he became a student of economics, as may be seen in three or four works he published on banking and finances. His first book of this kind was published in Brookfield, in 1850, on "Mutual Banking," and was a discussion of the nature of money, banking, and usury. He seems to have been largely influenced in his theories by the French socialists or mutualists, and he was especially influenced by Proudhon. Its practical purpose was to secure from the Massachusetts legislature a law permitting the inhabitants of towns or a group of towns to do their own banking, and to issue money in the form of promissory notes, secured by the farms of the

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shareholders. He was able to induce the inhabitants of Brookfield, Ware, Warren, and adjoining towns to petition the General Court, in 1850 and 1851, for a law permitting the establishing of such a mutual banking system as he proposed. He printed a series of letters in the "Worcester Palladium" advocating his scheme, and these were published in a pamphlet under the title of "Equality." In this pamphlet he said that banks created inequality between citizens, and that Massachusetts had become essentially socialistic in its control of the property of its citizens, or, more properly, plutocratic. The substance of these pamphlets, with additions, appeared in a volume published in Boston in 1857, with the title: "The Radical Deficiency of the Existing Circulating Medium and the Advantages of a Mutual Currency." Greene's political activities led to his being made a member of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention of 1853, but he was not able to secure recognition for any of his special theories.

After 1853, Greene lived in Paris for several years, and returned at the opening of the Civil War. He was appointed the Colonel of the Fourteenth Massachusetts Volunteers, July 5, 1861. This regiment became the First Massachusetts Heavy Artillery on the first day of January, 1862. He had control of the Long Bridge that led from Washington into Virginia, and of Fort Runion and Fort Albany, that protected this bridge and the aqueduct that supplied the city with water. In the "Diary and Correspondence" of James Freeman Clarke is an interesting account of his visit to this command, in November, 1861. Subsequently Greene had command of an artillery brigade. In the autumn of 1862 he came into conflict with General J. S. Wadsworth, Military Governor of the District of Columbia, and John A. Andrew, Governor of Massachusetts, who interfered with his command, as he claimed. In his letter of resignation he also said that Major Andrew Washburn of his regiment

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had been court-martialled by inferior officers as the result of such interference on the part of Wadsworth and Andrew. His resignation took effect October 11, 1862. After this he acted as a volunteer aid to General Butler in the campaign before Petersburg, and also at Bermuda Hundred.

Greene then took up his residence in Boston and its neighborhood for a number of years. In 1864 he published a large pamphlet on "Consciousness as Revealing the Existence of God, Man, and Nature." This was followed, in 1866, by a translation of "Job," with notes, intended to give a fresh interpretation of this Oriental poem. In 1868 appeared a pamphlet on "The Sovereignty of the People," a defence of the rights of the people as guaranteed in the Bill of Rights of the several State constitutions. "The legal peoples," he said, "and not Congress, are the true sovereign. It is the freedom of speech and of the press, the enjoyment of liberty and property, and the pursuit of happiness, which is to be ranked as of the natural right, and which is guaranteed as such by the State constitutions. If the legal peoples govern the governments, public opinion governs the legal peoples; and public opinion is formed by women and non-voters as well as by men and voters." In the same year he appeared as an advocate of paper money, but as guaranteed by land-values.

In 1870 Greene published "Explanations of the Theory of the Calculus," and he wrote other pamphlets on mathematical subjects, his ability in this direction being very considerable. His skill in logic appears in a pamphlet on "The Facts of Consciousness and the Philosophy of Mr. Herbert Spencer." This is a sharp criticism of Spencer's position, and of his failure to base his philosophy on the facts of consciousness, as Greene claims. His own point of view is thus stated: "It is the life of the soul, and that life only, which is immediately perceived in consciousness. What is the life of the soul? Observation in consciousness teaches us that it is a life of intelligence; that it consists

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mainly in immediate knowing; for if we feel or will, we know that we feel, and know that we will. More careful and somewhat painful observation teaches us that there is not only a life of the soul, but also something that is alive, — a knower. This knower perceives itself as subject, never as object, and as an intelligence; and this immediate perception or intuition of active and spontaneous intelligence is the only adequate knowledge the soul has of intelligence. If the soul attribute intelligence to other beings, it does so by induction only, and in the light of its intuitive notion of intelligence. The soul also perceives itself as one in the strictest sense of the word 'unity'. It has also intuitions of ideality and diversity. We might continue this enumeration through a detailed list of a thousand and one other intuitions, all of them unscientific in the sense that they are above science, and conditions without which science would be impossible. Such is the genesis of first truths."

Among other subjects on which Greene wrote were: "The Blazing Star," with an appendix treating of the "Jewish Kabbala;" a reply to Dr. E. H. Clarke on "Sex in Education;" and a letter to the Minister of King's Chapel on the condition of the working-people of Boston. He published "Imogen and Other Poems," 1871; and "Cloud-Rifts at Twilight," 1878. "Imogen" is a well written tale in verse, with considerable lyric power. Greene was not a poet, but he had a considerable facility in the production of verses. In 1875 he brought together, under the title of "Socialistic, Communistic, Mutualistic, and Financial Fragments," about a dozen of his essays that had previously appeared in pamphlet form. These related wholly to one phase or another of his social theories, including his system of mutual banking, free-love and marriage, and the status of the working classes. The volume concludes with an address of the Boston section (French-speaking) of "The Working-People's International Association," written by Greene, revised by the

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officers of that organization, and read to the New England Labor Reform League, at its session for 1873. He was the vice-president and chairman of the executive committee of the Labor Reform League, and he seems to have been active in the International. While he thus associated himself with the socialists, he appears to have been inclined to accept the theories of the anarchists as then represented in this country by E. H. Heywood, editor of "The Word," published at Princeton, Mass., and vigorously devoted to anarchism. To that journal he was a contributor, though he did not accept all the theories it represented. To the furtherance of the interests of working-men he gave much attention and enthusiasm, largely identifying himself with their propaganda. His theories in this direction appear in his International address, wherein he says: "The working-man ought to have the whole of his fair earnings; but he cannot have this whole if other parties are paid the triple or the quadruple of what they respectively earn. . . . What is required at the present time is not so much equality before the laws as *equal laws*: that is to say, laws that do not themselves bring forth and perpetuate inequality."

Greene was well known to most of the transcendentalists, though his extreme views were not acceptable to many of them. In November, 1841, Margaret Fuller wrote to Emerson: "How did you like the military-spiritual-heroic-vivacious phoenix of the day?" This was a very good description of Greene, for he was zealous, eccentric, arbitrary, and mystical, and very entertaining in conversation. He was one of the four persons who addressed the Town and Country Club during the brief period of its existence; and he frequently attended other gatherings of the transcendentalists. At one of Alcott's conversations the subject was the "Angelic and Demonic Man," a favorite topic with him. He described the angelic man as blond, of nervous temperament, with blue eyes, contemplative, intuitive; in fact,

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gave a very good description of himself. Then he described the demonic man as being strong, with dark eyes and hair, with great energy and will power, his eyes full of fire. This portrait was a very good one of Greene, who sat directly in front of the speaker. The company present saw the application being made, and waited eagerly for the outcome of the encounter sure to result. Alcott went on: "The demonic man is logical, loves disputation and argument, he smokes," etc. Then Greene asked: "But has not the demonic man his value?" "Oh, yes," was the reply, "the demonic man is good in his place, very good, — he is good to build railroads; but I do not like to see him in pulpits, begging Mr. Greene's pardon." Then Greene began to ask questions, which Alcott answered calmly and smilingly. But these questions were subtly logical and calculated to wind the speaker up until he confessed to absurdities and was evidently defeated. The combat went on, and with a growing interest on the part of the audience. Just as Greene had brought his victim to a *reductio ad absurdum* Alcott soared away into one of the most eloquent of his flights of impressive speech, leaving Greene and his logical apparatus quite out of sight. When Louisa Alcott was asked what good angel saved her father from the merciless defeat Greene had prepared for him, she replied: "Oh, he knew well enough what he was about."

Greene spent the last years of his life in England, and he died at Weston-super-Mare, May 30, 1878. He showed forth, as perhaps no one else did, the individualistic tendencies of transcendentalism. He was opinionated, dogmatic, and combative. These characteristics were well described by one of his friends: "Those who knew Mr. Greene intimately could not but wonder at the fatality which prevented him from making that mark on the public mind which he made on all the individual minds that came within the sphere of his influence. In personal intercourse he was



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delightful, stimulating the thinking powers of his companions, while often astounding them by his paradoxes. He became intellectually a come-outer of the most resolute kind. He affronted all accredited notions and conventional standards in a way that amazed even radicals. In his laughing, imperious fashion he told Theodore Parker, at a time when Parker was the horror of all New England orthodoxy in religion and cautiousness in politics, that he regretted to find him such a rotten conservative; and Garrison and Phillips he spoke of as brave and earnest sentimentals, but men who had small logical faculty to perceive the necessary results of their own propositions regarding the rights of man, and of no account as thinkers.

"In truth, Mr. Greene was the most inexorable of logicians, and had the audacity and intrepidity to accept all the consequences of any theory he adopted. He was one of the most original of American metaphysicians. He had studied the works of Plato, Aristotle, Descartes, Leibnitz, Spinoza, Locke, Kant, Fichte, and Hegel, and had delved down to the central idea of each of these masters in philosophy.

"His wit, humor, geniality, the essential sweetness underlying his argumentative habit, his grand indifference to everything which interfered with or assumed to check his independence, the cordiality of soul which ran through all his blunt contradictions of some of my most cherished ideals, and his friendly interest in everything I was employed upon for the moment, are things I shall never forget. I never met him without a renewed wonder at the increased amount of his generalized knowledge, and at the reach and depth of his philosophical thinking. By the character of his mind he could never be a conformist. His individuality became more and more aggressive and untamable as he grew older. He was intended for a great man, but some subtle element in his nature prevented him from realizing the distinction to which his powers evidently pointed."

## XX

### BENJAMIN FRANKLIN PRESBURY

IN the third number of the second volume of "The Dial" were printed two poems by Benjamin Franklin Presbury, the first a sonnet addressed "To Mary on Her Birthday," and the other a lyric entitled "Music," and inscribed "To Martha." It is not known that Presbury wrote anything else for "The Dial." He was born in Taunton, Mass., October 23, 1810, and his father was a captain engaged in the coasting trade to New York and Philadelphia. Young Presbury was educated in the public schools and in the Bristol Academy. He was early taken into his father's service, but want of robustness, and his distaste for a sea-faring life led to his being apprenticed to a tailor. He followed this occupation for a number of years, but the confinement injured his health, and in 1849 he joined the throng of gold-seekers to California. He related his adventures in a series of letters published in the Taunton newspapers. On his return he studied law, and entered upon the practice of that profession.

Presbury was a student and a lover of the best literature, and he devoted himself more and more to writing. Early in 1859 he published a novel called "The Mustee," which won him much praise. The learning displayed in it gave him recognition in literary circles, and he enjoyed the friendship of Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, James T. Fields, and many other literary men. When "The Atlantic Monthly" was begun, in 1859, he became a contributor of poetry and of literary criticisms to its pages. Soon after he became the book-reviewer for the "Taunton Daily Gazette,"

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and he contributed to it many literary criticisms of an unusually high order. When the Taunton Public Library was opened, in May, 1866, he was made the librarian. After his death, which took place November 2, 1868, the trustees of that institution described him as a person "who by his talents, taste, and attainments was more than fitted for the position he was content to occupy; one whose liveliest sympathies ever went with the labor and counsel he freely gave to promote its highest success; and whose superior culture, keen discernment, and severe literary standards have been valuable aids in the formation, management, and uses of the library." He was a genuine lover of books, which he read constantly, and with a true appreciation of their contents. He had a tenacious memory, and enjoyed reciting page after page from any poem he admired. He was thoroughly conversant with ancient and modern literature. He was a great admirer of the Greek philosophers, and he wrote a lecture on Socrates, which he delivered many times.

"The Mustee" is a novel of considerable ability, parts of the narrative being graphically related, while the incidents are of absorbing interest. It is an anti-slavery work, the best parts of it describing life in New Orleans and the escape from slavery of a woman who is a mustee or mestee, that is, whose parents were white and quadroon, "mustee" being a contraction of "mestizo." A notice of the book in the second volume of "The Atlantic Monthly" is just and truthful: "The plot of this novel is open to criticism, and we might take exception to some of the opinions expressed in it; but it is evidently the work of a thoughtful and scholarly mind and benevolent heart, — is exceedingly well written, shows a great deal of power in the delineation both of ideal and humorous character, and includes some scenes of the most absorbing dramatic interest. The character of Featherstone [who becomes the owner of the mustee, after

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having had a child by her] is admirably drawn, and Bill Fink [a typical saloon-keeper and slave-hunter] is a positive addition to the literature of low life. We commend him to our Southern friends, as an example of one of the most peculiar products of their peculiar institution. The author of the novel has lived in the South, and his descriptions of slavery display accurate observation, candid judgment, and a vivid power of pictorial representation. The scenes in New Orleans are all good; and in few novels of the present day is there a finer instance of animated narrative than the account of Flora's escape from slavery. The incidents are so managed that the reader is kept in breathless suspense to the end, with sympathies excited almost to pain, as one circumstance after another seems to threaten the capture of the beautiful fugitive. Though the book belongs to the class of anti-slavery novels, it is not confined to the subject of slavery, but includes a consideration of almost all the exciting topics of the day, and treats of them all with singular conscientiousness of spirit and vigor of thought." The chief defects in "The Mustee," which probably kept it from a real success and a permanent place in literature, were an artificial and bookish style, which is especially noticeable in the descriptive portions; and the slowness of movement of the earlier chapters, causing the whole book to give an impression of heaviness and a tedious minuteness. Had it been cut down one-half in length, the dramatic and narrative portions only being retained, "The Mustee" would have been one of the best of the novels produced by the anti-slavery agitation.

In the second volume of "The Atlantic Monthly" was published a fine lyric, "Myrtle Flowers," from the pen of Mr. Presbury. In the fifth volume he reviewed with fine skill "Goethe's Correspondence with a Child," and in the tenth volume his review of Carlyle's "Frederic the Great" was scholarly and just.

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The name of Presbury is a very common one in the Old Colony, but it is spelled Presbrey by all the other members of the family. It was a fancy of our author to spell it as he did, and he claimed that the old heraldic spelling was the one he adopted. He was not married, but resided in the family mansion with a sister. In religion he was a Unitarian, and his own strong literary tastes brought him into intimate contact with "The Dial" writers and the contributors to "The Atlantic Monthly."

## XXI

### CHARLES ANDERSON DANA

DANA contributed four poems to "The Dial." The first of them was a sonnet which appeared in the last number of the second volume, under the title of "Herzliebste." In the first number of the third volume was a sonnet called "Eternity." In the fourth volume were two sonnets, both signed with Dana's initials: "Via Sacra," and "To R. B." The last sonnet was addressed to Robert Bartlett, a graduate of Harvard, one of the earliest transcendentalists, who died young. These four sonnets were written while Dana was a member of Brook Farm. In a personal letter he wrote of his connection with "The Dial" and of his own contributions: "Besides the sonnets you mention, I remember one other, the first one of all. Its title I cannot recollect; but the first two lines were these:

' Utter no whisper of thy human speech;  
Break not the infinite calm, even by a prayer.'

[This was 'Eternity,' the second of Dana's sonnets, and the lines quoted are the first and fifth.] I have also a vague notion that there may have been a short poem besides, in stanzas of three or four lines. I fear that I cannot give you any specific facts regarding the inception of the enterprise. Though I knew of it beforehand, I happened to be away from Cambridge and Boston when the scheme took its definite form, and saw nothing of the first number until after it had been published. It made a great impression on the public, and Mr. Alcott's 'Orphic Sayings' were widely ridiculed and parodied. Some two months later, I became intimately associated with Mr. and Mrs. Ripley, and through

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them was kept pretty well aware of what was done and to be done in the pages of the magazine. The few things that I wrote were all handed directly to Mr. Ripley, except, perhaps, the first one, which, I believe, was given to Miss Fuller. My own recollections, as you see, are of little importance." In another letter he says: "My relation to 'The Dial' was rather that of an outside sympathizer and spectator."

Charles Anderson Dana was born August 8, 1819, at Hinsdale, N. H. He entered Harvard College in 1839, but he did not graduate, owing to a disease of the eyes, although he was afterwards given the degree. He was one of the early members of Brook Farm, its secretary throughout, the instructor in Greek and German, and the managing editor of "The Harbinger." Dana was but twenty-two years old when he went to Brook Farm, but he was one of its leaders and managers from the first. He married while at the farm one of the members of the Association, Eunice Macdaniel. He was one of the most frequent contributors to "The Harbinger," and though some of his articles lacked in maturity, they were vigorous and practical. He was one of the lecturers who went out to advocate associationist principles, and though he was not brilliant or eloquent on the platform, he was effective, and was listened to with interest. He opposed the movement that led the community to accept the teachings of Fourier, and spoke earnestly against the change; but he was always loyal to the Association. And yet those familiar with the inside history of Brook Farm can detect that there was throughout something that made Dana other than an idealist in his relations to the community. There was not an entire break, as so many have assumed, between his early and his later history. Nor was he altogether an apostate in his later years from the beliefs of his youth. It was the practical side of Brook Farm that appealed to him, and he was never wanting in

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ambition for power and influence. It is not to be thought, however, that Dana was playing a part at Brook Farm or that he was not honestly devoted to the interests with which he was there connected. What is meant is that the youth was father of the man, and that he did not utterly repudiate in New York what he had accepted in West Roxbury. There can be no question but that he was sincerely loyal to the cause of association. He had a heroic strain in him, and a certain measure of ideal faith in the higher ethics. These qualities appear in a sonnet he contributed to "The Present," in November, 1843.

### AD ARMA!

O loiterer, that dalliest with thy dreams  
Content to watch thyself in graceful ease,  
While clang of steel burdens each passing breeze,  
And all the air is radiant with its gleams;  
Where noble hearts, as noble heart beseems,  
Answer the world's great cry with earnest deeds,  
Fulfilling thus their own most inward needs;  
Is there no Spartan nerve in all thy frame  
That feels the summons to that solemn field?  
And canst thou then its sacred honors yield,  
And the high guerdon of eternal fame,  
For purple skies and wreaths of fading flowers,  
And a short lustre of these flitting hours?

Dana left Brook Farm before the association had finally come to its end, and became connected with the "Daily Chronotype," in Boston, of which Elizur Wright was the editor. In 1847 he became connected with the "New York Tribune," on which he rose to a position next that of Horace Greeley; and he had much to do with making that paper a wide-reaching and powerful influence. In 1862, owing to disagreement with Mr. Greeley as to the conduct of the war, he retired from "The Tribune." He was at once made a special commissioner of the war department, and in January, 1864, became the assistant Secretary of War. In 1865 he



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became the editor of the "Chicago Republican," and in 1868 he returned to New York and became the chief editor of "The Sun," which he made a popular and powerful journal. He was a vigorous critic and incisive writer; but he was thought to be without convictions and principles. By his former Brook Farm associates he was condemned as having deserted all the ideals of his youth, and he was looked upon as an apostate. He continued as the editor of "The Sun" until his death, October 17, 1897.

Dana was connected with Ripley in the editing of the "New American Cyclopedia" from 1858 to 1863, and which they revised as the "American Cyclopædia" from 1873 to 1876. He joined with General James H. Wilson in writing a biography of General Grant, which was published in 1868. He compiled the "Household Book of Poetry," which first appeared in 1857, was revised many times, and received its last revision in 1884. In 1898 there was published in "McClure's Magazine" his "Reminiscences of the Civil War."

## XXII

### JONES VERY

ONE of the most remarkable of the protégés of Emerson who contributed to the pages of "The Dial" was Jones Very. In a notice of Very's poems from Emerson's pen, published in the first number of the second volume of "The Dial," he says "they are as sincere a litany as the Hebrew songs of David or Isaiah," and that "they have the sublime unity of the Decalogue or the Code of Menu, and if as monotonous, yet are they almost as pure as the sounds of surrounding Nature!" To this notice was added Very's sonnet on "The Barberry Bush;" and in the first number of the third volume appeared a poem called "The Evening Choir," and a sonnet entitled "The World." The poem does not appear in either of the volumes of Very's writings edited by his friends since his death.

Jones Very was born in Salem, August 28, 1813, the son of a sea-captain of the same name. He graduated from Harvard in 1836, became at once a tutor of Greek in the College, and a student in the Divinity School. He was eminently successful as a teacher, gaining the affection and confidence of his pupils, and inspiring them with interest and even zeal with regard to the subject he taught. He has been described by a person who profited by his instruction as "one who fairly breathed the spirit of the Greek language and its literature, surrounding the study with a charm which vanished from Harvard with him." In 1843 Very was licensed to preach by the Cambridge association of Unitarian ministers, but he was never settled over a parish. He

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preached occasionally, and by those who valued the most spiritual statement of religion he was gladly heard.

Writing to Rufus W. Griswold, September 25, 1841, Emerson said of this mystic poet: "Jones Very is a native of Salem, the son of a sea-captain who made many voyages to the north of Europe, in two of which he was accompanied by his son. After his father's death, he prepared himself for college, and entered Harvard University in 1832, was graduated in 1836, and was appointed Greek tutor in the College in the same year. Whilst he held this office, a religious enthusiasm took possession of his mind, which gradually produced so great a change in him that his friends withdrew him from Cambridge and placed him for a short time in the McLean Asylum at Charlestown. His residence there produced little or no alteration, and he soon went to Salem, where he wrote most of the poems in the little volume. He is now in a state of somewhat firmer health, I believe, but rarely writes any verses. In 'The Dial' you will find a brief notice of his 'Poems,' written by me, to which I know not that I can add anything excepting the few dates above written."

The reference here is to a volume of "Essays and Poems," by Very, which Emerson edited and published, in 1839. This included a number of his sonnets and lyrics, preceded by three essays written or revised by him while he was at the sanitarium, the subjects being "Epic Poetry," "Shakespeare," and "Hamlet." In 1883, after the death of Very, a selection from his poems was edited by William P. Andrews, with a brief memoir. This volume included only his religious poems, and so arranged as to indicate the several stages in his religious development. In 1886 James Freeman Clarke edited a complete revised edition of Very's poems and essays, with a preface by Cyrus A. Bartol, and a very brief "biographical sketch" by Dr. Clarke.

During his tutorship at Harvard, Very entered upon a

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period of cerebral excitement approaching monomania, which gradually subsided, but the effects of which he never outgrew. At no time did he approach a condition of acute mania, but for some years he was in a state of abnormal religious exaltation, which had so little of insanity in it that those who knew him most intimately regarded him as the one person of their acquaintance who consistently accepted the truths of Christianity. "Men in general," was the interpretation of Dr. Channing, "have lost or never found this higher mind; their insanity is profound, Mr. Very's is only superficial. To hear him talk was like looking into the purely spiritual world, into truth itself. He had nothing of self-exaggeration, but seemed to have attained self-annihilation and become an oracle of God." Emerson spoke of him as "profoundly sane," and "wished the whole world were as mad as he." Dr. Clarke said that Very's "was a case of mono-sania, rather than mono-mania," and he gave an interesting account of the religious beliefs of the poet: "Mr. Very's views in regard to religion were not different from those heretofore advocated by many pure and earnestly religious persons. He maintains, as did Fénelon, Madame Guion, and others, that all sin consists in self-will, all holiness in unconditional surrender of our own will to the will of God. He believes that one whose object is, not to do his own will in anything, but constantly to obey God, is led by him, and taught of him in all things. He is a son of God as Christ was The Son, because he always did the things which pleased his Father."

Jones Very accepted the cardinal teaching of transcendentalism with an unflinching faith. It was not a theory with him that man is in immediate contact with God, and may know of his will at all times. What he did and what he said, he felt that he was directed to do and to say by the Infinite Power. In fact, he claimed that he acted not of his own will, but always as he was directed. This theory he

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accepted with the utmost literalness, so that he said to Dr. Channing that even the putting his hand upon a mantel in the room where they were was not of his own free-will. He wrote his poems and his prose essays as they were given to him, and he regarded himself as only the messenger or spokesman of the Spirit. His sonnets on religious themes, especially, he regarded as containing a message that was "given him" by the Spirit. He had an absolute confidence in the word that was thus spoken through him, and he gave it to others as something that had authority behind it, not as his own. He wrote to Emerson: "I am glad at last to be able to transmit what had been told me of Shakespeare. You hear not mine own words, but the teachings of the Holy Ghost."

That he was an organ of the Spirit had become with Very a "fixed idea," but his cerebral excitement had no other effect upon him than to make him remarkably spiritually minded, so that he lived constantly in the realm of religious faith. Very was present at a conversation given by Alcott in Lynn during January, 1839, and what the latter then wrote of him shows his mental condition: "He is a remarkable phenomenon. His look, tones, words, are all sepulchral. He is a voice from the tombs. He speaks of having once lived in the world amongst men and things, but of being now in the spirit; time and space are not, save in the memory. This idea modifies all his thoughts and expressions, and the thoughts and expressions of others also. It is difficult for those who do not apprehend the state of his soul to converse with him. I find it quite possible, by translating his thoughts into my own vocabulary, mentally. By so doing, we talk with ease, and understand each other. His speech is Oriental. He is a psychological phenomenon of rare occurrence. He lives out of his organs; he is dead. Each thought of his soul, when spoken, each act of the body, implies a resurrection of the spiritual life." Alcott seems

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to have accepted Very's own belief that he had passed the resurrection, and no longer lived as a denizen of the physical world. Very spoke of his *former* life, and of his having arisen and become a supernatural being. To the more ardent transcendentalists this seemed natural and true, and they were ready to accept Very's mental attitude as due to spiritual perfection, and not to an abnormal condition of the brain.

Much of Very's poetry is dull enough, and not much of it rises above mediocrity; but a score or two of his sonnets and lyrics, written during his period of greatest cerebral excitement, have not been surpassed in this country. He had a remarkable mastery of the sonnet form, and there is a true lyric power in a few of his poems in that kind. Hawthorne quoted some of his earlier work in his "Virtuoso's Collection" as that of "a poet whose voice is scarcely heard among us as yet by reason of its depths." Emerson wrote of his earliest collection of poems as "bearing the unquestionable stamp of grandeur." Richard H. Dana wrote of the "extraordinary grace and originality" of Very's poems, and he called them "among the finest in the language." George William Curtis said that these poems were "gems of the purest ray serene," and characterized them as "a soul's history written with a pen of light."

The poetry of Jones Very was very narrow in range, his subjects were not many, and he could use but a few poetical forms. He was not much concerned about poetry as such, and it was only as the vehicle of the Spirit that it had significance for him. "I value these verses," he said, "not because they are *mine*, but because they are *not*." He wrote what "came" to him, but he had no "leading," as he said, to print what he had written. This was why Emerson edited the first volume of his to secure publication, and why no other collection of his poems was made until after his death. It was his lively interest in Very that led Emerson

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to prepare this earliest volume. Miss Peabody was then living in Salem and greatly interested in Very. She sent his poems to Emerson from time to time, and she persuaded Emerson to secure Very an opportunity to lecture in Concord. Writing to her after he had met and heard Very, Emerson said: "I write to thank your sagacity that detects such wise men as Mr. Very, from whose conversation and lecture I have had a true and high satisfaction. I heartily congratulate myself on being, as it were, anew in such company." Writing to Very of his poetry, Emerson said: "Do not, I beg of you, let a whisper or a sigh of the Muse go unattended to or unrecorded." Once when Very went from his house, Emerson wrote: "In dismissing him I seem to have discharged an arrow into the heart of Society. Wherever that young enthusiast goes he will astonish and disconcert men by dividing for them the cloud that covers the gulf in man."

After his retirement from his tutorship at Harvard Very spent his whole life in Salem, living there with two sisters in the house inherited from his father. He spent his mornings in his study, devoting much time to reading; his afternoons were usually given to walking far and wide about Salem, and during these usually solitary excursions his poems were composed, being written down on his return to his room. He led a quiet, retired, and studious life. His poems were occasionally printed in the local journals, and in the Unitarian periodicals. He died in the house where he had lived, May 8, 1880.

## XXIII

### CHARLES KING NEWCOMB

A SKETCH appeared in the first number of the third volume of "The Dial" called "The Two Dolons," the author of which was Charles King Newcomb. Evidently a series was planned, but only this article was published. It is doubtful if the account of the second Dolon was written. On June 9, 1842, Emerson wrote to Margaret Fuller: "I wish you to know that I have 'Dolon' in black and white, and that I account Charles K. a true genius; his writing fills me with joy, so simple, so subtle, and so strong is it. There are sentences in 'Dolon' worth the printing of 'The Dial' that they may go forth." This paper was given to "The Dial" at Emerson's request, and he had great expectations of Newcomb's genius.

Newcomb was graduated at Brown University in 1837. He went to Brook Farm almost at the first and was a boarder there. He took no active part in the community, seems to have had little sympathy with its purposes, but he found the life there congenial. In fact, he seems to have held himself quite aloof from the serious purposes of the community, and to have been in it but not of it. He was drawn to the Catholic Church, but in a sentimental or poetical fashion. Its ritual and its symbolisms attracted him, but not its doctrines or its claims as the depository of revelation. He adorned his room at the Eyrie with pictures of Catholic saints, and he erected in it some kind of an imitation altar, before which he said his prayers or recited the ritual. He appears to have been an American Pre-Raphaelite, with most of the characteristics of the group of



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Englishmen who took that name and have made themselves famous. He had a mystic's ardor for nature, adored the past and its forms, and enjoyed nothing so much as contemplation. He had a feminine temperament, full of sensibility, and wished to do only what pleased his own fancy.

Mrs. Georgiana Bruce Kirby, in her "Years of Experience : An Autobiographical Narrative," has given an interesting account of Newcomb at Brook Farm :

"It was easy to discriminate between members of the association — boarders, half-boarders, and pupils — by the air of business or leisure observable in them. Mr. Charles N., for instance, whose room adjoined mine at the Eyrie, was a full boarder. I was sure of this from his habit of reading Greek aloud after the working members of the household had retired, and not infrequently breaking out solemnly with the church litany in the middle of the night. The walls of the rooms were not so thick but his invocations were audible through them. He was a young man with large, devout eyes, which had an absorbed expression. There was a want of firmness in his gait, and his long black curls deserved more care than he bestowed on them. Mr. N. was highly esteemed by Emerson because of his rare intuitiveness and his love of nature. He stayed at the community to escape the distractions and formalities of society. He had a genius for penetrating to the very core of a subject, so that a few words from him often impressed his hearers more than an hour's talk with one more healthily balanced. In every way he was eccentric.

"His high, small room, with its French window, which had a view across the meadows to the edge of the woods, was generally adorned with nature's trophies — stately bulrushes, weird-looking, moss-covered branches, ferns, and brakes. As he was inclined, from some temporary sentiment, to enjoy certain Catholic emblems, he kept an unpainted

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wooden cross on his table, at the foot of which generally lay a few violets or other wild flowers. On the walls were engravings of Jesus, Ignatius Loyola, and Xavier, framed with wreaths of the creeping vine. All this was most unique and romantic in my eyes."

One of the members of Brook Farm has said of Newcomb that when he was skating on the Charles River, and heard a church-bell ringing on Sunday morning, he would put off his skates, take them in his hand, enter the church while the service was progressing, kneel before the altar, and after praying for a few moments, retire without recognition of the congregation. The same person relates that when he first heard of the famous dancer, Fanny Elssler, he called her "a vile creature;" but when he had seen her dancing he placed her portrait between that of Loyola and Xavier behind his imitation altar. These anecdotes are very likely exaggerations, and yet it is evident that Newcomb had a fondness for symbolism and for the mystical wherever found. His paper in "The Dial" is sufficient evidence of this, and of his delight in what is vague and mysterious. This sketch was much admired and it was much discussed. It was also the subject of much merriment on the part of critics, being laughed at and caricatured almost as much as Alcott's "Orphic Sayings." Even so ardent a transcendentalist as W. H. Channing could write of it to Margaret Fuller: "'Dolon' is full to crowding with truth and beauty, but alas! it has no key-note for earthly instruments. It is a song made for heaven's harps, sung to the spinet of earth."

Involved and ungrammatical as "Dolon" is, with many obscurities and incomprehensible passages, it was carefully revised by Emerson for the pages of "The Dial," Elizabeth Hoar giving her assistance to make it readable. For a number of years Emerson saw something of Newcomb from time to time, who visited him in Concord, and an occasional

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letter passed between them. In May, 1843, Emerson wrote to Newcomb: "Can you not send me some new tidings of yourself, — that your health is confirmed, that your heart is richer, that thoughts abound, and ever from higher centres, that your aims define themselves and yet soar the while, as one finds the zenith in blue sky, and then far above the azure in a star?"

Newcomb was born in Providence in 1820, and after leaving Brook Farm he returned to that city. In 1862 he served for three months in the Tenth Rhode Island Volunteer Infantry. In 1870 he went to Europe, and lived in London and Paris until his death in the latter city, in 1894.

In his youth Newcomb proposed to enter the ministry, but he abandoned that purpose because he "found it impossible to be a sectarian." He loved simplicity and seclusion, and he appears to have had an aversion to serious and persistent duties. Emerson said of him that "he hated intellect with the ferocity of a Swedenborg." Some of the sentences and passages in "Dolon" are remarkable, and the whole sketch is one of the most striking contained in the pages of "The Dial." "Poetry is a fertility of humanity," Newcomb says, "and the real life of the deep and substantial part of man, in which also great experience goes on, even like that which a life in the world would give, only it is deeper and more individual within the man." This sentence is suggestive of the Pre-Raphaelites: "Dolon had a kind of instinctive quiet consciousness, as if God had put into his soul a celestial flower-plant on which were heavenly little fairies, and the consciousness was a feeling of an experience, like natural effects going on within him, the life lived within him, and he neither sees, orders, or interferes with it." His persistent tendency to obscurity and mysticism appear in many such sentences as this: "Human nature, if left to itself, will be full of life, like the great western forests and standing water, and Poetry is the physical inword of the spiritual

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nature, with its life developed in forms; forms are not mere continent of life, but forms which are formed life."

Hawthorne has alluded to Newcomb in "The Hall of Fantasy," contained in "Mosses from an Old Manse." In this hall are to be found those "who have affairs in that mystic region which lies above, below, or beyond the actual," "the techy, wayward, shy, proud, unreasonable set of laurel gatherers." "Some unfortunates," he says, "make their whole abode and business here, and contract habits which unfit them for all the real employments of life."

In a personal letter George William Curtis said of his fellow-boarder at Brook Farm: "Charles Newcomb was a young man from Providence in whom Emerson was deeply interested. He came early to Brook Farm and was a solitary, self-involved youth, preferring to associate with children. He had read a good deal in the literature of the mystics, and was laughingly said to prefer paganism to Christianity. He had a feminine temperament, full of sensibility. He was slight in person, awkward and slouching in gait, and was never taken very seriously by anybody. He was very independent, and attracted Mr. Emerson, who discovered that he wrote, and persuaded him to send 'Dolon' to 'The Dial' Some years afterward Newcomb went to London, where I believe he is still living [1882]. When I asked Mr. Emerson about him upon my return from Europe, in 1850, he said that he doubted Newcomb's genius when he found that he did not care for an audience."

## XXIV

### CHARLES LANE AND ALCOTT'S ENGLISH FRIENDS

EMERSON gave an account of Alcott's visit to England in the second number of the third volume of "The Dial." He described James Pierrepont Greaves, John Abraham Heraud, Francis Foster Barham, Godwyn Barmby, Henry G. Wright, and Charles Lane, who had invited Alcott to England, and who gave him a warm reception. These men were transcendentalists, most of them were mystics, and they were ardent admirers of Alcott. They had been largely influenced by Coleridge and by the German idealists, especially by Boehme and Schelling, as well as by Swedenborg. They were erratic, opinionated, ardent disciples of the Newness, visionary, and engaged in the wildest schemes for reforming the individual and society.

One of Emerson's English correspondents (who were Alcott, W. Oldham, and Charles Lane), quoted in his article, wrote of James P. Greaves as "a great apostle of the Newness to many." He was born in 1777, was a London merchant and became wealthy; but the Napoleonic wars ruined him financially, and he surrendered all his property for the benefit of his creditors. After travelling in Germany, he settled at Yverdon in Switzerland, and became a devoted student of the educational methods of Pestalozzi. In 1825 he organized and became the secretary of the Infant School Society in London, and in 1832 he was settled in Gloucestershire engaged in a scheme for the benefit of agricultural laborers. Then he returned to London and drew around him a considerable body of friends who were the members of a philosophical society. He had been an ardent student

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of Jacob Boehme, and was saturated with German transcendentalism. His mystical ideas, associated with the practical theories of Pestalozzi, led him to develop an educational system of his own. His cardinal principle he stated thus: "As Being is before knowing or doing, I affirm that education can never repair the defects of birth." Hence the necessity, according to his theory, for "the divine existence being developed and associated with man and woman prior to marriage," in order that children may be born in a pure and holy condition. A school was organized at Ham, in Surrey, to carry out these ideas, and it was named the Alcott House School. Here Greaves spent his last years, dying there in March, 1842, at about the time of Alcott's visit. Two volumes of Greaves' writings were edited by Charles Lane, and published in 1843 and 1845. Alcott had a long correspondence with Greaves, and is said to have admired him greatly. Barham described Greaves as essentially a superior man to Coleridge, and with much higher spiritual attainments and experiences. "His numerous acquaintances regarded him as a moral phenomenon, as a unique specimen of human character, as a study, as a curiosity, and an absolute undefinable." During his later years he was a vegetarian, a water-drinker, and an advocate of hydropathy; but he was often in distress for money.

Another member of this group of reformers was J. A. Heraud, editor of the "New Monthly Magazine," much admired and praised by Alcott at the time "The Dial" was projected. He was born in 1799, and began at an early age to write for the magazines. He became a competent German scholar, and this gave him much advantage as a journalistic writer at a time when that language was seldom spoken in England. He was a student of Schelling, and tried to popularize his teachings in England. He applied Schelling's philosophy to literature, and wrote of the vast,

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remote, and terrible. His epic poems, "The Descent into Hell," 1830, and "The Judgment of the Flood," 1834, gave him literary recognition. He published about a dozen books in all, but none of them are now read. He wrote for the "Quarterly Review," was assistant-editor of "Fraser's Magazine," and edited the "New Monthly Magazine" from 1839 to 1842. In 1843 he became a contributor to "The Athenæum," and served as its dramatic critic until 1868. He was also the dramatic critic of the "Illustrated London News," from 1849 to 1879. In his later years he was pensioned by both the "News" and "Athenæum." He died April 20, 1887, at the Charterhouse, to which he had been appointed by Gladstone. Leigh Hunt described Heraud as "wavering in the most astonishing manner between being Something and being Nothing." John Stuart Mill said of him: "I forgive him freely for interpreting the Universe, now when I find he cannot pronounce the *h*'s." When Emerson inquired of Carlyle about Heraud, he received this reply: "Heraud is a loquacious scribacious little man, of parboiled, greasy aspect. To me he is chiefly remarkable as being still — with his entire enormous vanity, and very small stock of faculty — out of Bedlam. He picked up a notion or two from Coleridge many years ago; and he has ever since been rattling them in his head, like peas in an empty bladder, and calling on the world to List to the Music of the spheres. He escapes assassination, as I calculate, chiefly by being the cheerfulest, best-natured little creature extant. You cannot kill him, he laughs so softly, even when he is like killing you. I mentioned to him once that Novalis had said, 'The highest problem of authorship is the writing of a Bible.' 'That is precisely what I am doing!' answered the aspiring, unaspiring." And yet Heraud was on intimate terms with Coleridge, Wordsworth, Lockhart, Southey, and other literary men. He assisted the Carlyles in their house-hunting, and it was

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partly on his recommendation that they went to Cheyne Row.

Emerson also speaks of Francis Foster Barham, who was born in 1808, became a London attorney, then was associated with Heraud in his editorial labors, especially on the "New Monthly Magazine." He published about twenty books, translated the Bible, and edited several important works. The study of Oriental languages and religions led him to found a new religion, which he called Alism. He described it as "the supreme central doctrine which combines and harmonizes all partial sections of truth in one divine universal system. After very prolonged and arduous researches," he wrote, "I at last discovered this supreme central doctrine, and gave it the name of Alism, a name derived from A, Al, or Alah, the most ancient and universal title of Deity in the Hebrew Scripture. By Alism I therefore mean that eternal divinity, pure and universal, which includes and reconciles all divine truths whatsoever to be found in Scripture or Nature, in theology, theosophy, philosophy, science, or art." He formed a society of Alists, and also a Syncretic Society; but his disciples did not extend beyond the little circle of which Emerson wrote. He died at Bath, February 9, 1871.

Barnby was a minor poet of his day, and Wright was the principal of the Alcott House School. Associated with Wright in various reforms was Charles Lane, who contributed ten articles to the last two volumes of "The Dial." Lane was for many years the manager of the "London Mercantile Price Current." He was a writer for the "Monthly Magazine," edited by Heraud, and of "The Heathian," edited by Wright. He also wrote "some remarkable tracts," to use Emerson's words, and an essay called "The Third Dispensation," introductory to a translation of Madame Gamond's "Phalansterian," a book advocating Fourierite doctrines. He maintained that humanity had



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passed through the tribal and the national stages, and that it was entering upon a third one, or that of universal union. Lane published a work on "True Harmonic Association," in which he advocated a system of family life as the true remedy for the social ills of the time. His chief remedy, as Emerson says, was "ceasing from doing" or from self-activity, in order that the spirit might fill the mind with truth and the body with health. Emerson writes of Lane as "a man of a fine intellectual nature, inspired and hallowed by a profounder faith." "This is no man of letters," he says, "but a man of ideas. Deep opens below deep in his thought, and for the solution of each new problem he recurs, with new success, to the highest truth, to that which is most generous, most simple, and most powerful; to that which cannot be comprehended, or overseen, or exhausted. His words come to us like the voices of home out of a far country." This was written before Emerson had a personal knowledge of Lane, and was evidently modified as the result of actual acquaintance and intercourse.

On Alcott's return from England, in October, 1842, he brought with him Charles Lane and his son William, and Henry C. Wright. He also brought with him the books listed at the end of the third volume of "The Dial," and which had belonged to the library of Greaves at the Alcott House School. These persons spent the winter in Concord, at Alcott's cottage. Lane wrote for "The Liberator," the "New York Tribune," and for "The Dial." His first contribution to the latter was printed in the second number of the third volume, being continued in the next number, and was devoted to James Pierrepont Greaves. In the same number appeared a short article on Cromwell from the same pen. In the last number of this volume Lane devoted a long article to the works of Alcott, which we have already found Thoreau praising because it was appreciative of Alcott's genius; but Hawthorne said of it in his journal: "It is not

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very satisfactory, and it has not taught me much." In the fourth volume Lane wrote of "Social Tendencies" (in the first and second numbers), "A Day with the Shakers," "Brook Farm," and "Life in the Woods." He also reviewed Heraud's "Life of Savonarola," in the last number of the third volume; and Upham's "Interior or Hidden Life," and the "Millennial Church," in the fourth. Of the article on "Social Tendencies," Margaret Fuller wrote to Emerson: "It was a pity to break Mr. Lane's piece. He needs to fall his whole length to show his weight." His style was hard, dry, and uninteresting, as Thoreau recognized when he wrote to Emerson that he could easily put off reading his articles to another time, which never came.

In his article on Alcott, Lane wrote of the neglect with which his teachings had been received. Thoreau edited this passage out of the printed page, but it is interesting to read it now as a testimony to the reception given to the transcendentalist teachings of Emerson and Alcott in 1843. "Goethe in his fatherland earns a moderate respect," Lane wrote, "while in America he is placed on the pinnacle of renown. Carlyle, in his native England, coldly and slowly admitted to the ranks of genius, in America is kindly regarded as one of the brightest stars in the literary horizon. To Emerson, in his own circle, is but slowly accorded a worthy response; and Alcott, almost utterly neglected by his contemporaries, must seek his true appreciation beyond the great waters, and in the quietest nook in old England behold the first substantial admission of his claim to be considered the exponent of a divinely inspired idea. New England, failing in honor to her children, and having no newer and more youthful country to accept and reflect their merits, may receive the award of the old land."

In the spring of 1843 Lane bought a farm in the town of Harvard, about fifteen miles from Concord to the southwest; and this was given the name of Fruitlands. Here Alcott

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and Lane proposed to organize a form of family life that should avoid the defects of Brook Farm (as they saw them), and that should give the advantages of associated labor and community of social interests. Lane visited Brook Farm, studied carefully its form of organization and its practical workings. His criticism of the false methods of education employed there was lucid and forcible, according to one historian of the association. Lane seems to have been hypercritical, insistent upon the adoption of his own theories, and wanting in sympathy. It was these qualities that led him to prefer to organize a community of his own; and with this demand Alcott was in full agreement.

The members of Fruitlands were Amos Bronson Alcott; Mrs. Abigail Alcott; their daughters, Anna Bronson, Louisa May, Elizabeth Sewall, and Abby May; Charles Lane, and his son William; Samuel T. Larned; Christopher Greene; Abram Everett; Isaac T. Hecker; Joseph Palmer; Charles Bower; Anne Page; and Henry C. Wright, for a short time. At the end of the first number of the fourth volume of "The Dial" was printed an account of the community from the pen of Mr. Alcott. In her story called "Transcendental Wild Oats," Louisa Alcott gave a most humorous account of her experiences there. She gave her father the name of Lamb, and Lane that of Timon Lion, thus recognizing the characteristics of each as manifested in this experiment. From the first the community was an impossibility, and it came to an end with the appearance of cold weather. The ascetic demands of its leaders were too extravagant for human nature, too chimerical to gain any permanent basis in real life. This asceticism was hinted at by W. H. Channing in the second number of "The Present" when he mentioned having had a visit from Lane and Alcott, "the gardeners of Fruitlands, the Essenes of New England." He said that "their plan of renewing men by physical purification and submission to the spirit, amidst simple habits and holy do-

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mestic life, corresponds remarkably, making allowance for change of land and age, to that of the more cheerful class of Therapists or healers." Channing described the method of association as that of "consociation, or the family life." In a subsequent number of "The Present" Lane gave an account of the theory of family life on which Fruitlands was based. It was that the younger members of a family, instead of withdrawing from the paternal roof on their marriage, should continue under it, and the family grow into a community bound together by ties of blood. He would have a group of such consanguineous families unite into a community for a larger associative life. Therefore Fruitlands differed in theory from Brook Farm in being a community of families instead of an association of individuals. In regard to marriage and property, Lane had this to say: "Marriage as at present constituted is most decidedly an individual, and not a universal act. It is an individual act, too, of a depreciated and selfish kind. The spouse is an expansion and enlargement of one's self, and the children participate of the same nature. The all-absorbent influence of this union is too obvious to be dwelt upon. It is used to justify every glaring and cruel act of selfish acquisition. It is made the ground-work of the institution of property, which is itself the foundation of so many evils. This institution of property must be abrogated in associative life, or it will be little better than isolate life. But it cannot, it will not be repealed so long as marital unions are indulged in, for up to this very hour, we are celebrating the act as the most sacred on earth, and what is called providing for the family as the most onerous and holy duty." From this statement it will be seen that Lane was a socialist of a rather pronounced type, and that he did not find Brook Farm to his mind because it was based on communism, and not on socialism; that is, its basis was the individual, who was permitted to earn and own property, while

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Lane desired to abolish all such individual ownership. In the "New York Tribune" Lane more clearly defined the ascetic principles of Fruitlands:

"Hence our perseverance in efforts to attain simplicity in diet, plain garments, pure bathing, unsullied dwellings, open conduct, gentle behavior, kindly sympathies, serene minds. These and the several other particulars needful to the true end of man's residence on earth may be designated the Family Life. Happiness, though not the object of human energy, may be accepted as the confirmation of rectitude, and this is no otherwise attainable than in the Holy Family. The family, in its highest, divinest sense, is destiny. It comprehends every divine, every human relation consistent with universal good, and all others it rejects, as it disdains all animal sensualities. . . .

"It is not absurd to suppose that all future good hinges on this very subject of Marriage. In fact, nothing but absolute ignorance of the law of human generation can doubt it. The great secular success of the Shakers, their order, cleanliness, intelligence, and serenity, are so eminent that it is worthy of inquiry how far these are attributable to an adherence to their peculiar doctrine. . . .

"As to Property, we discover not its disposition either in individual or social tenures, but in its entire absorption into the New Spirit, which ever gives and never grasps. The notion of property is the prolific seed of so many evils that there seems little hope for humanity so long as it is made a leading consideration, or is harbored in the human bosom. It is even possible that if the projects now before the public were in actual operation, the evils of life would become more fixed by reason of the greater refinement of this demon property, which would be more difficult to cast out of our orderly arrangement than from the present chaos of mankind, where its evils are less glossed. From the midst of this sin and its consequences it is difficult to

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emerge without committing sin. The demonstration of our example, in proceeding actually to the greatest possible extent in the pure direction has, however, attracted toward us other needful assistance. . . . We do not recognize the purchase of land, but its redemption from the debasing state of proprium or property to divine uses, we clearly understand, where those whom the world esteems as owners are found yielding their individual rights to the Supreme Owner. Looking at this subject practically, in relation to a climate in which a costly shelter is necessary, and where a family with many children has to be provided for, the possibility of at once stepping boldly out of the toils into which the errors of our predecessors have cast us, is not so evident as it is desirable. . . .

"Our outward exertions are in the first instance directed to the soil, and as our ultimate aim is to furnish an instance of self-sustaining cultivation without the subjection of either men or cattle, or the use of foul animal manures, we have at the outset to encounter struggles and oppositions somewhat formidable. Until the land is restored to its pristine fertility by the annual return of its own green crops as sweet and animating manures, the human hand and simple implement cannot wholly supersede the employment of machinery and cattle. So long as cattle are used in agriculture, it is evident that man will remain a slave, whether he be proprietor or hireling. The driving of cattle beyond their nature and pleasurable exertions, and waiting upon them as cook and chambermaid three parts of the year; the excessive labor of mowing, curing, and housing hay, and of collecting other fodder, and the large extra quantity of land needful to keep up this system, form a combination of unfavorable circumstances which must depress the humane affections so long as it continues, and overlay those of the injurious and extravagant development of the animal and bestial natures in man. No one can fail to see that if

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cattle were no longer bred and fed for slaughter, milking, or draught, the human family might be drawn much closer together all over the country. It is calculated if no animal food were consumed one-fourth of the land now used would suffice for human sustenance. And the extensive tracts of country now appropriated to grazing, mowing, and other modes of animal provision, could be cultivated by and for intelligent and affectionate human neighbors. The sty and the stable too often secure more of the farmer's regard than he bestows on the garden and children. No hope is there for humanity while woman is withdrawn from the tender assiduities which adorn her and her household, to the servitudes of the dairy and the fleshpots.

"Our diet is therefore strictly of the pure and bloodless kind. No animal substances, neither flesh, butter, cheese, eggs, nor milk, pollute our tables or corrupt our bodies. Neither tea, coffee, molasses, nor rice, tempts us beyond the bounds of indigenous productions. Our sole beverage is pure fountain water. The native grains, fruits, herbs, and roots, dressed with the utmost cleanliness and regard to their purpose of edifying a healthful body, furnish the pleasantest refectations, and in the greatest variety, requisite to the supply of the various organs. The field, the orchard, the garden, in the bounteous products of wheat, rye, barley, maize, oats, buckwheat; apples, pears, peaches, plums, cherries, currants, berries; potatoes, peas, beans, beets, carrots, melons, and other vines, yield an ample store for human nutrition, without dependence on foreign climes or the degeneration of shipping and trade.

"In these steps of reform we do not rely so much on scientific reasoning or physiological skill as on the Spirit's dictates. The pure soul, by the law in its own nature, adopts a pure diet and cleanly customs, nor needs detailed instruction for daily conduct. On a revision of our proceedings it would seem that, if we are in the right course in

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our particular instance, the greater part of man's duty consists in leaving alone much that he is in the habit of doing. It is fasting from much of the present activity, rather than an increased indulgence in it which, with patient watchfulness, tends to newness of life. Shall I sip tea or coffee? the inquiry may be. No. Abstain from all ardent, as from all alcoholic drinks. Shall I consume pork, beef or mutton? Not if you value health or life. Shall I stimulate with milk? No. Shall I warm my bathing water? Not if cheerfulness is valuable. Shall I clothe in many garments? Not if purity is aimed at. Shall I prolong my dark hours consuming animal oil, and losing bright daylight in the morning? Not if a clean mind is an object. Shall I teach my children the dogmas inflicted on myself, under the pretence that I am transmitting truth. Nay, if you love them, intrude not these between them and the Spirit of all Truth. Shall I become a hireling or hire others? shall I subjugate cattle? shall I trade? shall I claim property in any created thing? shall I adopt a form of religion? shall I become a parent? shall I interest myself in politics? To how many of these questions, could we ask them deeply enough, could they be heard as having relation to our eternal welfare, would the response be, Abstain!

"Be not so active to do as sincere To Be. Being, in preference to doing, is the great aim, and this comes to us rather by a resigned willingness than a wilful activity, which is indeed a check to all divine growth. Outward abstinence is a sign of inward fulness; and the only source of true progress is inward. We may occupy ourselves actively in human improvements; but these, unless inwardly well-impelled, never attain to, but rather hinder, divine progress in man."

After the failure of Fruitlands, early in the winter of 1843-44, Lane spent some time with the Harvard Shakers, in whose immediate neighborhood this experiment was



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carried on. Alcott said of him that for a time he tried to be a Shaker, but did not succeed. In the last volume of "The Dial" he gave an account of life at this Shaker community. Then he joined a community in New Jersey, and finally returned to England, where he resumed his "Price Current," which he published until his death. The dates of his birth and death are not known, the "Dictionary of National Biography" giving no account of him. His chief importance seems to have consisted in his connection with Alcott and with "The Dial." He had many attractive qualities, but he was an extremist in his theories, and was the advocate of the most radical form of socialism known in his day. He refused to pay taxes, as did Alcott and Thoreau, and he lived on a diet of fruits and grains. Emerson found him a troublesome guest, because he not only refused to eat meat of any kind, but would not keep back his rebuke, expressed in no moderate terms, at the table where it appeared. He had all the idiosyncracies of Alcott, but with none of his genius and affability.

## XXV

### CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

IN the last two numbers of "The Dial" were printed letters from Heidelberg on German books and authors, and especially concerning philosophical writings. These were written by Charles Stearns Wheeler, who was living in Germany in order to perfect his studies in preparation for his chosen profession as a clergyman. He was born in Lincoln, Mass., the son of a farmer, and grandson of Dr. Charles Stearns, for fifty years the Lincoln minister, December 19, 1816. He was educated in the town schools and labored on his father's farm. Concerning this period of his life, he wrote: "Whenever I came through Cambridge [which was only a few miles from his home, in the direction of Boston] on my way to market, I used to make a point of taking a long look at the College buildings. And if I had any enthusiasm for anything it was to listen to stories about their inmates. To be one of so happy a crew was a lot too blessed for me. As I could not give up wishing it was mine, I was allowed to prepare for college." He entered Harvard in 1833. He has been described as being quite simple and unsophisticated in his manners, full of eager curiosity and an abounding health and cheerfulness, which lent a constant smile to his ruddy face. "Rigidly exact in his compliance with college rules and duties," says one of his college mates, "he never seemed to have an idle moment; so he easily met all the requirements of his instructors and held his own as a scholar with those whose previous opportunities of preparation had been less interrupted and desultory. He sustained a high rank all through his

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college course and took the second honors of his class at graduation. Without any very brilliant natural endowments, Wheeler was a signal example of what can be accomplished by sturdy, cheerful diligence, and an untiring devotion to duty. He was a man of fixed principles and great purity of character, whose steady aim seemed always to be self-improvement and the acquisition of knowledge."

Wheeler graduated from Harvard in 1837, after which he taught in a boys' school for a time. He was then made a tutor in Greek in the college, which position he held from 1838 to 1842; and he gave instruction in the department of history. In 1838 and 1839 he aided Emerson in editing the four volumes of Carlyle's "Miscellanies" published in Boston. In his letters to Carlyle, Emerson made frequent mention of the diligent aid given him by Wheeler in the proof-reading. Soon after, Wheeler edited an edition of Herodotus with notes, which was received with much favor, and was adopted as a text-book in the college. In 1842 he edited the poems of Tennyson in two volumes, published in Boston, and noticed in the third volume of "The Dial," page 273, by Margaret Fuller. At this period, 1841-42, Wheeler built or hired from a farmer a hut on the shores of Flint's Pond, half-way from Lincoln to Concord, in which he lived for some months. Here he was visited by Thoreau, who was a member of his college class, and with whom two or three years before he had camped-out on the shores of Lincoln Pond. The suggestion of his own experiment on the shores of Walden Pond doubtless came to Thoreau from Wheeler.

Concerning this episode in Wheeler's life the following account has been given by Ellery Channing, in a letter to Frank B. Sanborn: "Stearns Wheeler built a 'shanty' on Flint's Pond for the purpose of economy, for purchasing Greek books and going abroad to study. Whether Thoreau assisted him to build this shanty I cannot say, but I think

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he may have ; also that he spent six weeks with him there. As Thoreau was not too original and inventive to follow the example of others, if good to him, it is very probable this undertaking of Stearns Wheeler, whom he regarded (as I think I have heard him say) a heroic character, suggested his own experiment on Walden. I believe I visited this shanty with Thoreau. It was very plain, with bunks of straw, and built in the Irish manner. I think Wheeler was as good a mechanic as Thoreau, and built his shanty for his own use. The object of these two experiments was quite unlike, except in the common purpose of economy. It seems to me highly probable that Wheeler's experiment suggested Thoreau's, as he was a man he almost worshipped. But I could not understand what relation Lowell had to this fact, if it be one. Students in all parts of the earth have pursued a similar course from motives of economy, and to carry out some special study. Thoreau wished to study birds, flowers, and the stone age, just as Wheeler wished to study Greek. And Mr. Hotham [a theological student who lived in a cabin by Walden, in 1869-70] came next, from just the same motive of economy (necessity) and to study the Bible. The prudential sides of all three were the same."

In the summer of 1842 Wheeler was able to carry out a long contemplated plan of study in Germany. In writing to Carlyle, on July 1 of that year, Emerson said: "Stearns Wheeler, the Cambridge tutor, a good Grecian, and the editor, you will remember, of your American editions, is going to London in August probably, and on to Heidelberg. He means, I believe, to spend two years in Germany and will come to see you on his way ; a man whose too facile and good-natured manners do some injustice to his virtues, to his great industry and real knowledge. He has been corresponding with your Tennyson, and editing his poems here."

After he was established in Heidelberg, Wheeler sent

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three or four letters to Emerson, which were published in "The Dial." He also sent Schelling's introductory lecture in Berlin, delivered in November, 1841. This was translated by Frederic H. Hedge. In the spring of 1843 Wheeler was attacked by gastric fever, of which he died at Rome, on June 13. He was but twenty-six years of age, and yet he was recognized by those who knew him as a man of much promise. A tradition of his scholarship yet lingers, and he has been highly praised by Emerson and others. When there came the first report of Wheeler's death, Thoreau wrote to Emerson: "I should be slow to believe it. He was made to work very well in this world. There need be no tragedy in his death." When the report was fully confirmed Thoreau wrote to his sister: "I think that Stearns Wheeler has left a gap in the community not easy to be filled. Though he did not exhibit the highest qualities of the scholar, he promised, in a remarkable degree, many of the essential and rarer ones; and his patient industry and energy, his reverent love of letters, and his proverbial accuracy, will cause him to be associated in my memory even with many venerable names of former days. It was not wholly unfit that so pure a lover of books should have ended his pilgrimage at the great book-mart of the world. I think of him as healthy and brave, and am confident that if he had lived, he would have proved useful in more ways than I can describe. He would have been an authority on all matters of fact, and a sort of connecting link between men and scholars of different walks and tastes. The literary enterprises he was planning for himself and friends remind me of an older and more studious time. So much, then, remains for us to do who survive." In conveying the news of Wheeler's death to Thoreau, Emerson wrote: "You will have read and heard the sad news, to the little village of Lincoln, of Stearns Wheeler's death. Such an overthrow to the hopes of his parents made me think more of

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them than of the loss the community will suffer in his kindness, diligence, and ingenuous mind." A class-mate, John Weiss, wrote a poetical tribute to his friend, in which he said :

"Near Leipsic's book-fair well book'd Wheeler lies;  
Native to him the scholar's high emprise.  
His earliest books he plough'd from Lincoln's soil,  
Found sermons in its stones; there farmer's toil  
Toughened his sinews into mind, and made  
His purpose steadfast."

The monument erected to Wheeler's memory in Mount Auburn contained on one side this tribute: "He was four years an able and faithful instructor in Harvard University. To the learning of the scholar he added the piety of the Christian. Ardent and indefatigable, in a short life he did the work of many years. Simple in manners, pure in heart, affectionate in disposition, he was beloved by all who knew him. His remains, restored to his native land, rest here."

Wheeler was the first to die of the attendants upon the meetings of the transcendental club and of the contributors to "The Dial;" and his youth, together with the promise his life had given of scholarly attainments, endeared his memory to those who had known him most intimately. He was often spoken of with pathetic tenderness.

## XXVI

### LYDIA MARIA CHILD

To the last number of the third volume of "The Dial" Lydia Maria Child contributed an article on "What is Beauty?" It appeared under her own name, which was then well known to the reading public. From this brief paper it is evident that Mrs. Child was a transcendentalist, although we know from other sources of information that she did not closely affiliate herself with the members of that school. She was in large degree an eclectic or an independent, studying all creeds sympathetically, and yet accepting none without reserve. Her position was well defined by Wendell Phillips when he said of her that "in her many-sidedness she did not merely bear with other creeds; she heartily sympathized with all forms of religious belief, pagan, classic, oriental, and Christian. All she asked was that they should be real."

This catholicity of spirit was admirably shown in her book, published in 1855, on "The Progress of Religious Ideas through Successive Ages." She wrote to a friend while it was in preparation: "I am going to tell the plain, unvarnished truth, as nearly as I can understand it, and let Christians and Infidels, Orthodox and Unitarians, Catholics and Protestants and Swedenborgians, growl as they like. They all will growl if they notice the book at all; for each one will want to have his own theory favored, and the only thing I have conscientiously aimed at is not to favor any theory." At about the time "The Dial" was publishing Mrs. Child was much interested in the teachings of Swedenborg, and she was inclined to join the New Church. In a letter

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to Ellis Gray Loring, May 27, 1841, she speaks of this desire, but says she is withheld from its gratification because the New Church is opposed to reforms. "Let me go where I will, it keeps an outward hold upon me, more or less weak on one side, while reforms grapple me closely on the other. I feel that they are opposite, nay, discordant. My affections and imagination cling to one with a love that will not be divorced; my reason and conscience keep fast hold of the other, and will not be loosened. What shall I do? The temptation is to quit reforms, but that is of the devil; for there is clearly more work for me to do in that field. I suppose I must go on casting a loving, longing look toward the star-keeping clouds of mysticism, which look down so mysterious and still into my heart."

In 1840, while living in Northampton, Mrs. Child had listened to the preaching of John S. Dwight, and she had found much satisfaction in it. "He has ministered to my soul," she wrote to a friend, "in seasons of great need. I think that was all he was sent here for, and that the parish are paying for a missionary to me." At a later time she was drawn to the teachings of Theodore Parker, and after reading his biography by John Weiss, she wrote that it had confirmed her impression that he "was the greatest man, morally and intellectually that our country has ever produced." One of the most practical of busy women, devoting her whole life to loving service for others, she had a tendency towards mysticism, a love for what transcendentalism connotes. Writing to her brother, in 1838, she said that the Unitarian "looks upward for the coming dawn and calls it transcendentalism."

Lydia Maria Child was born in Medford, Mass., February 11, 1802. She was educated in the public schools and in a private seminary of her native town. She owed much to her brother, Convers Francis, a Unitarian minister, and for many years a professor in the Harvard Divinity School.



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The reading of "Waverley" led her to try her own hand at fiction, with the result that she published "Hobomok," a story of early New England life, at the age of twenty-one. Other novels followed, as well as books for children. In 1826 she began the publication of "The Juvenile Miscellany," the first magazine for children published in the country. She soon became widely known, and her writings were very popular. In 1833, however, she published "An Appeal in behalf of that Class of Americans called Africans," and she was at once regarded as a fanatic, and lost most of her popularity. Mrs. Child devoted herself to three lines of reformatory work, that of aiding women in their efforts for educational and professional advancement being the first. She was the first American woman to secure for herself a prominent and national recognition as an author. Her series called "The Ladies' Family Library," including a "History of the Condition of Women," expressed this phase of her work.

The devotion of Mrs. Child to the cause of human freedom was unflinching and heroic. "It is no exaggeration to say," wrote Whittier in the biographical sketch he prepared to accompany a volume of her letters, "that no man or woman at that period rendered more substantial service to the cause of freedom, or made such a renunciation in doing it." She sacrificed much for this cause, of personal friendships, of literary success, and of financial reward. After the "Appeal" she wrote an "Anti-Slavery Catechism," 1836; "The Evils of Slavery," and the "Curse of Slavery," 1836; "Philothea: a Romance," 1836; "Authentic Narratives of American Slavery," 1838; "Correspondence with Governor Wise," 1860; "The Patriarchal Institution," 1860; "The Freedman's Book," 1865; "A Romance of the Republic," 1867, as well as other works, that dealt with this phase of the national life.

As already intimated, Mrs. Child was keenly interested in the problems of religion, and especially in the practical

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realization of the results of the motives it inculcates. She did not deal with questions of theology, but with the world-wide impulses that lead to the religious life. Her work in three volumes on the "Progress of Religious Ideas" was the earliest in this country to study religion comparatively, and while it bears no comparison with later works in the same field, it was nobly planned and executed. It showed the depth and catholicity of her religious convictions, and that she wrote to further a more unsectarian and spiritual interpretation of the higher phases of life. In two other books, "Looking towards Sunset," and "Aspirations of the World," she also indicated her faith and her tolerant spirit.

Lydia Francis married David Lee Child, a Boston lawyer, in 1828. For a time she was editor of "The Anti-Slavery Standard" in New York, and while there she wrote for the "Boston Journal" letters that were widely read and copied. Two volumes of these were published as "Letters from New York," 1843 and 1845. She lived in the family of Isaac Hopper, a well-known member of the Friends' society, who was a zealous anti-slavery worker and philanthropist, and she wrote a biography of him. In 1854 she went with her husband to the town of Wayland, where the remainder of her life was spent. In a lonely neighborhood, at some distance from the nearest village, she lived in a most simple way. She cheerfully accepted a life of poverty in order that she might give liberally to the persons and the reforms she loved. The most rigid economy enabled her to devote, in spite of her poverty, considerable sums to helping others. She sincerely and nobly exemplified the altruistic spirit, thinking not of herself, but always remembering to minister to those she thought deserving.

## XXVII

### GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS

IN the first number of the last volume of the "The Dial" was "A Song of Death," the one contribution to its pages of George William Curtis. This poem was sent from Brook Farm, where Curtis spent a year and a half as a student. In a personal letter he said of it and his connection with "The Dial": "When 'The Dial' was published I was a boy, and I knew very little of its management or 'make-up.' I did not write 'Vespers' [in first number of the third volume, author not known]; and, so far as I remember I wrote only one poem, beginning, 'Death is here and death is there.' I sent it anonymously, and I do not think that the authorship was known to the editors."

Curtis was born in Providence and was privately educated. In 1842 he went to Brook Farm with his brother Burrill, and pursued his studies in the school there. In 1832 he had come under the influence of Emerson, and for a number of years he was a studious imitator of that great leader of transcendentalism. In his early writings his faithful hearing and reading of Emerson is conspicuous. His brother's account of his first hearing of Emerson shows how deeply he was impressed. "I still recall," he wrote, "the impressions produced by Emerson's delivery of his address on 'The Over-Soul' in Mr. Hartshorn's school-room in Providence. He seemed to speak as an inhabitant of heaven, and with the inspiration and authority of a prophet. Although a large part of the matter of that discourse, when reduced to its lowest terms, does not greatly differ from the commonplaces of piety and religion, yet its form and its

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tone were so fresh and vivid that they made the matter also seem to be uttered for the first time, and to be a direct outcome from the innermost source of the highest truth. My enthusiastic admiration of him and his writings soon mounted to a high and intense hero-worship, which, when it subsided, seems to have left me ever since incapable of attaching myself as a follower to any other man." He also says that his brother George "so far shared his enthusiastic admiration as to be led a willing captive to Emerson's attractions, and to the incidental attractions of the movement of which he was the head."

In a letter to Rufus W. Griswold we have George William Curtis's own account of his Brook Farm and Concord experiences, and it is full of interest. When preparing for college with a tutor, "I began with my brother," he says, "to be interested in Emerson, Brownson, and the other Boston philosophers, which interest resulted in our going to Brook Farm in the spring of 1842. I was merely a boarder, having made an arrangement of half work, half pay. At Brook Farm I made many of my best friends and tried all the asceticisms,—the no meat, the long hair, the loose dress, etc.,—but was not a member. I left in the autumn of 1843; I returned to New York. But the country life had become so fascinating that I was glad to run off to Concord with my brother in the following spring, and to pass a year there in a farmer's family, working hard upon the farm. It was during this year that I made friends with Hawthorne, and that the club was formed at Emerson's, of which I spoke in the 'American Authors.' I knew also, here, Alcott, Thoreau, and Ellery Channing, the poet.

"The next year my brother and I rented a single room in a farmer's house, and an acre of his land. We took the whole charge of the land, manuring it, plowing, harrowing, and planting. As we had so little, we gave it garden cultivation, and were well repaid. In the house we lived

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like Essenes. It was on the edge of a wood, and the baker came every day. We had no servant, and, as it was too much trouble to cook meat, I lived entirely upon apples and milk, with bread and biscuit, and we had a royally jolly and free time, except that our compassionate hostess would insist upon occasionally thrusting in plates of meat and vegetables,—but not often. I grew fat and hearty during these months, and sent an occasional bit of verse to 'The Harbinger,' which was published by my Brook Farm friends. We had a good many books, and I read a great deal."

Although Curtis was at Brook Farm and was a contributor to "The Harbinger," he did not accept the associative principle represented by that community. The influence of Emerson had been so great as to enable him to repel the communistic arguments, and to accept without reserve the strongest form of individualism. More definitely than any one else, with the exception of Thoreau, he has received the principle and the motive of individualism as authoritative. This may be seen conspicuously in his correspondence with John S. Dwight, one of the leading members of the Brook Farm community, immediately after his withdrawal therefrom, in the summer of 1843. After he had gone to Concord to labor on a farm and to pursue his studies he carried on an intimate correspondence with Dwight. In the winter of 1843-44 Brook Farm accepted the teachings of Fourier and became a phalanx of the kind he had devised. In discussing this change Curtis expressed his strong individualistic preferences. Writing to Dwight, in February, 1844, he said of Brook Farm under its changed conditions: "The Arcadian beauty of the place is lost to me, and would have been lost had there been no change. Though you change your ritual, I feel your hope is unchanged; and though it seems to me less beautiful than the one you leave, it is otherwise to you. There was a mild grace about our former life that no system attains."

## George William Curtis

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In a letter written a few days later Curtis shows his spirit of independent observation, and a capacity for critical judgment quite remarkable for a youth of eighteen. "I do not think (and what a heresy) that your life has found more than an object, not yet a centre. The new order will systematize your course; but I do not see that it aids your journey. Is it not the deeper insight you constantly gain into music which explains the social economy you adopt, and not the economy the music? One fond symphony or song leads all reforms captive, as the grand old paintings in St. Peter's completely ignore all sects. Association will only interpret music so far as it is a pure art, as poetry and sculpture and painting explain each other." Then he deals with the communal method of getting rid of social defects: "With respect to association as a means of reform, I have seen no reason to change my view. Though, like the monastic, a life of devotion, to severe criticism it offers a selfish and an unheroic aspect. What we call union seems to me only a name for a phase of individual action. I live only for myself; and in proportion to my own growth, so I benefit others. I feel that our evils are entirely individual, not social. What is society but the shadow of the single men behind it? This is just now the point which pains me in association, its lack of heroism. Reform is purification, forming anew, not forming again. Love, like genius, uses the means that are, and the opportunities of to-day. If paints are wanting, it draws charcoal heads with Michael Angelo. These crooked features of society we cannot rend and twist into a Roman outline and grace; but they may be animated with a soul that will utterly shame our carved and painted faces. A noble man purges these present relations, and does not ask beautiful houses and landscapes and appliances to make life beautiful."

If these words show a very close imitation of Emerson they have a beauty and vitality of their own, Emerson's

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thoughts had gained a new grace in the alembic of Curtis's vigorous mind. The real defect of Brook Farm has never been more truly or justly stated than in these words: "You may insure food and lodging to the starving beggar; I do not see that strength is afforded to the man. Moreover, a stern divine justice ordains that each man stand where he stands and do his utmost. Retreat, if you will, behind this prospect of a comfortable living, but you do so at a sacrifice of strength." Again, he comes directly to the point of what is weak in communism: "The effect of a residence at the Farm was not greater willingness to serve in the kitchen, and so particularly assert that labor was divine; but discontent that there was such a place as a kitchen. And, however aimless life there seemed to be, it was an aimlessness of the general, not of the individual life. Its beauty faded suddenly if I remembered that it was a society for special ends, though those ends were very noble. In the midst of busy trades and bustling commerce, it was a congregation of calm scholars and poets, cherishing the ideal and the true in each other's hearts, dedicate to a healthy and vigorous life." His rejection of association is pointedly stated in these brief sentences: "The more strictly individual I am, the more certainly I am bound to all others. I can reach other men only through myself. So far as you have need of association you are injured by it."

After leaving Brook Farm Curtis spent parts of two years in Concord as a student and farmer. He saw something of Emerson and the other Concord authors; but his account of them in his paper printed in the "Homes of American Authors" gives an exaggerated and unjust impression. Of this criticism, however, he wrote in a personal letter: "Why do you say that my account of Hawthorne and Emerson had more of romance than of fact? Every incident mentioned by me was an actual occurrence, and I had letters from both of my subjects before I wrote, to enable

## George William Curtis

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me to verify certain details. I should be sorry to be supposed to have written carelessly or inaccurately."

In later years Curtis frequently wrote in his essays of life at Brook Farm, and of the men and women connected with the transcendentalist movement. Nothing more delightful or accurate has been written about that period. Though not usually classed as a transcendentalist, Curtis was one of its most legitimate products.



## XXVIII

### BENJAMIN PETER HUNT

IN the July and October numbers of the fourth volume of "The Dial" were published two articles describing a "Voyage to Jamaica" and life on that island. They were written by Benjamin P. Hunt, a friend of Emerson's. He also wrote the account in the last number of a "Saturday and Sunday among the Creoles." "Outward Bound," a short poem in the third volume, has been attributed to him, but was probably written by Mrs. Tappan. Emerson wrote of the article descriptive of Hunt's voyage to Jamaica: "It seems to me the best of all sea voyages. Besides its rhetorical value, it has another quite additional, inasmuch as it realizes so fully for me the promises of the large, wise boy who made my school-days in Chelmsford so glad by his lively interest in books and his native delight in ethical thought; and life looks more solid and rich to me when I see these many years keep their faith." Hawthorne said of Hunt's article, probably referring to the second part, that it was "a solitary example of facts which have not lost their vigor by passing through the mind of a thinker."

Benjamin P. Hunt was born in Chelmsford, Mass., May 18, 1808. When Emerson was teaching the Academy in that town, through the summer and autumn of 1825, Hunt was one of his pupils. He left the Chelmsford Academy in January, 1826, to supply the place of his brother Edward in his school at Roxbury, who had broken down in health and was compelled to take a sea voyage. Concerning his intercourse with Hunt, Emerson afterward wrote: "He was a philosopher whose conversation made all the social com-

## Benjamin Peter Hunt

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fort I had." Hunt entered Harvard in 1828, but did not graduate. He went to Philadelphia, and taught in a classical and scientific school for a number of years. He read everything that came in his way, and was a favorite in society. Coming to find the drudgery of teaching irksome, he sailed for Havana from Boston, March 6, 1840, as supercargo of the brig "Olive." Encountering a fierce storm, which he graphically described in the first of his "Dial" articles, he did not proceed farther than Jamaica, where he seems to have been engaged in business for some months. In May, 1842, he went to Hayti, and in a few years he was at the head of a wealthy commercial house in Port-au-Prince. Devoting himself faithfully to business he became prosperous, and in 1858 was able to retire comparatively wealthy. He then returned to Philadelphia, where he had married, and devoted the rest of his life to study and to philanthropy. He there surrounded himself with books, which were to him a great delight and a constant occupation.

While in Jamaica and Hayti Hunt became greatly interested in the negro population of those islands, and he continued to study the subject throughout his life. In 1860 he published in a pamphlet "Remarks on Hayti as a Place of Settlement for Afric-Americans, and on the Mulatto as a Race for the Tropics." His comments on the promising qualities of the mulattoes in Jamaica, contained in his second "Dial" article, and his approval of the mixing of the white and black races therein contained, were reiterated in this pamphlet. He maintained that the amalgamation of the races was desirable and inevitable, because of the marvellous and burr-like tenacity with which the negroes stick to the white man and his localities. He found that the two races lived together without social distinction, and intermarried without social obloquy. "The merchants, the lawyers, the doctors, the schoolmasters, of Hayti were

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all of the mixed race, and even among laboring men the mulattoes were equal to the blacks in strength and endurance, and superior to them in skill and address."

As was natural, Hunt was a zealous abolitionist. During the Civil War he was a member of the advisory board in Pennsylvania for the recruiting of colored soldiers. He was the secretary and treasurer of the Pennsylvania Freedman's Relief Association, and the corresponding secretary of the Port Royal Relief Committee. After the close of the war, finding colored persons in Philadelphia were barbarously treated and insulted, he set himself to work almost single-handed to right their wrongs. Colored persons were not permitted to ride on railroads or on street cars, and they were ejected from these with violence. "He collected money, he called public meetings, he prosecuted the presidents of railroad companies, he petitioned the Legislature. For two years the struggle continued, until in March, 1867, an act was passed making such exclusions amenable to law." In 1868, finding that the orphans of white soldiers were provided with homes, but none were assured to the children of colored soldiers, he began another crusade, that resulted in giving to all colored orphans of soldiers a home under the care and protection of the State.

When President Grant, in 1869, was seeking to add Saint Domingo to the United States, he appointed Mr. Hunt one of a commission to visit the island and report on the subject of annexation. It was Hunt's conviction that all the West Indies ought to belong to the United States, and that they would ultimately seek that political connection. "This project of annexation was very dear to him, but from motives entirely different from such as governed many of those interested in the subject. To some it was either the advantages of a coaling station, or so much more gold, sugar, coffee, and rum added, free of duty, to their commerce; but to him it was the door which opened the way for our laws,

## Benjamin Peter Hunt

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civilization, and Christianity to permeate a half-barbarous community of blacks, who are keeping up to this day many of the superstitious practices which they brought from Africa." Owing to ill-health Hunt was not able to join this commission; but his interest in the islands was always great. When he was at Port-au-Prince he began to study every phase of life in the West Indies, and to collect books on the subject. He gave these books, about seven hundred in number, to the Boston Public Library, where they were deposited after his death. They included maps, views, and manuscripts, as well as a carefully prepared catalogue of the whole collection. In the collection were three works in manuscript prepared by Hunt. The first of these was an unfinished account of "The Haytiens," giving a description of their social, moral, and political condition at the time of his residence in the island, from 1840 to 1858. The second work was a "History of Hayti" (the French part of it), from 1625 to 1695. There was also a work on "The Redemptioners; or, Some Account of the early Emigration of the Poor to America, and its Causes." The first and last of these works were accompanied by extensive collections of notes, newspaper clippings, and extracts from books and records. Hunt devoted much time and zeal to the story of "The Redemptioners," but death came before it was completed. "At this time," wrote his amanuensis, "his generally failing health preventing him from active participation in works of charity, with sincere pleasure he took up a long-cherished scheme of writing a history of the poor. Hundreds of volumes he read, or had read to him, and from them made extracts, covering the period from the days of villeinage down to the beginning of the nineteenth century. No detail nor scrap of information was passed by, and his labor of love was fast growing into shape under his hands, when it was interrupted by his sickness and death." Hon. John Bigelow, in his book

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on "The Haytiens," says that Hunt's collection relating to the Antilles "is the most complete in the country, perhaps in the world." He also says that, added to a general culture of a high order, he had a familiarity with the history of Hayti and the character of its people possessed by no other person to his knowledge.

In 1854, through the influence of Bigelow, Hunt became interested in the writings of Swedenborg. A thoughtful reading of them led him to a profound and reverent belief in their doctrines. He was also attracted to the teachings of Emerson, to whom he wrote in 1860: "It is now thirty-five years since you began your teachings to me, and, with the exception of those of the great, rough, honest, and impartial world, I think they have been the best which I ever received from any man whom I have personally known. I hope I shall continue to receive similar teachings thankfully as at present for many years to come." Hunt died at his home in Philadelphia, February 2, 1877.

## XXIX

### JAMES ELLIOT CABOT

THE opening article in the last number of "The Dial," on Immanuel Kant, was written by James Elliot Cabot, a lifelong friend of Emerson's and his biographer. He was born in Boston, June 18, 1821, his father being Samuel Cabot, a successful Boston merchant, and he was graduated at Harvard in 1840. He graduated from the Harvard Law School in 1845, devoted himself to that profession in Boston, and has been a resident of the town of Brookline, one of the chief residence suburbs of that city, for many years. An overseer of Harvard University, a fellow of the American Academy, an active member of the Massachusetts Historical Society and other learned bodies, he has devoted much of his life to studious pursuits. Cabot was an editor of the short-lived "Massachusetts Quarterly Review" with Emerson and Parker. He has occasionally written for the reviews, including "The Atlantic Monthly" and "North American Review," but he has given little to the public. For Agassiz's work on "Lake Superior" he wrote the narrative of the tour. His contributions to the publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society have been more frequent than any others. For some years he was associated with his brother, Edward C. Cabot, well known as an architect.

Cabot is chiefly known to the public as the biographer of Emerson and as the editor of his later works. He prepared "Letters and Social Aims," 1876, for publication; and he edited all the volumes to appear since that date, including the "Poems," "Miscellanies," "Lectures and Biographical Sketches," and "Natural History of the Intellect," published

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since Emerson's death. In the last chapter of his "Memoir of Emerson" he gives an account of how he came to aid his friend in preparing his later volumes for publication. Concerning Emerson's connection with Mr. Cabot, Edward Emerson has said: "One friend, early known, but then seldom met, my father became acquainted with soon after the latter left college and entered on the study of architecture, and was attracted and interested by his character and conversation. My father rarely saw him until after the formation of the Saturday Club, when they met at the monthly dinners, and indeed a principal attraction to Mr. Emerson in going thither was the expectation of a talk with his friend. For years he regretted that their paths so seldom came together, not knowing that his friend was kept in reserve to lift the load from his shoulders in his hour of need, and with his presence and generous aid render his last days happy." Concerning the special service Mr. Cabot rendered to Emerson, Edward Emerson has written: "It was natural for the family in this emergency to turn to Mr. Cabot. They proposed to him to begin his task [that of Emerson's literary executor] during my father's lifetime and put this book in order. He came, and the tangled skein smoothed itself under his hand, and Mr. Emerson, when the work was laid before him with the weak points marked, was able to write the needed sentence or recast the defective one, so that after a few visits from Mr. Cabot the book, which had long presented insuperable difficulties, had taken definite shape, and was ready in season for the publishers. And not only was this done and the long anxiety about the literary executorship dispelled, but to have this friend, whom he had never seen so much of as he desired, thus brought often to his house and drawn nearer was an inexhaustible pleasure. He always spoke of 'Letters and Social Aims' to Mr. Cabot as 'your book.' Nothing could exceed the industry and skill brought to the task, nor

## James Elliot Cabot

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the delicacy and kindness shown throughout, and the peace of mind thus procured made Mr. Emerson's last days happy. He allowed his children to ask Mr. Cabot to write his biography in the future, and when, with great hesitation and modesty, a consent was given, was well content. He felt towards Mr. Cabot as to a younger brother."



### XXX

#### CHARLES TIMOTHY BROOKS

IN the last number of "The Dial" were printed two translations from the poems of Ferdinand Freiligrath, one entitled "The Emigrants," and the other "The Moorish Prince." These were made by Charles Timothy Brooks, then the minister of the Unitarian church in Newport. Brooks was born in Salem, June 20, 1813, graduated from Harvard in 1832, and from the Divinity School in 1835. He was ordained and settled at Newport in 1837, and there he continued until the end of his life. He was by nature a transcendentalist, and many of his friends belonged to that school. Of his most intimate friends were Parker, Dwight, Cranch, Samuel Osgood, and others of that way of thinking. He also came into close relations with Dr. Channing, James Walker, Hedge, Francis, and Ripley. He was in no sense an iconoclast, but a quiet student, reserved, retiring, with a love for the mystical and the ideally beautiful.

"The new views greatly influenced Charles Brooks," says his biographer, "and shaped, more than he was himself aware, his theological and ethical opinions. He was indeed a natural transcendentalist, and could hardly, with his mental constitution and antecedents, have been anything else. This influence is distinctly traceable throughout his later career. It transfused his prayers and discourses, decided his selection of such authors as Goethe, Jean Paul, and Schefer for translation, inspired his own verse with spontaneity and fervor, and imparted to him that broad spiritual and forward-looking attitude which characterized him as a man of literature and a teacher of religion. His sympathy

## Charles Timothy Brooks

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with the new school of thought was never obtrusive; perhaps it was never thorough and complete. His inborn humility and reverence for past traditions and forms, a certain lack of incisiveness in his mental make-up, and his dislike of all partisanship prevented any such enthusiastic avowal as to some minds, differently constituted, was easy and inevitable."

It was a very quiet and uneventful life passed by Brooks in Newport, that had in it almost no outward events of interest. He won and held the love of his congregation, preached a truly spiritual religion, made many friends amongst the literary men and women who visited that city in the successive summers, and nobly exemplified the religion he taught. In 1853 Brooks spent a number of months in India, partly in search of health. A year was devoted to Europe, in 1865-66, and he came to know many men and women in the literary and other circles of the various countries he visited, especially England, Germany, and Italy. In 1873 he resigned the charge of the pulpit he had occupied for many years; and he died in Newport, June 10, 1883.

Brooks was a devoted student of German literature, and he attained to a masterly command over the language. He translated many of the German poets, his success in that field of effort being remarkable in its range and fidelity. His translation of Schiller's "William Tell" was published in Providence, in 1837. Then followed, in 1838, a volume of "German Lyrics," in George Ripley's "Specimens of Foreign Literature." A volume of songs and ballads, with the title of "German Lyric Poetry," was published in Philadelphia, in 1842. His other German translations were Schiller's "Homage of the Arts" and other poems, 1846; Goethe's "Faust," 1856; Richter's "Titan," 1862; Kortum's satirical poem, "The Jobiad," 1863; Richter's "Hesperus," 1864; Schefer's "Layman's Breviary," 1867; Busch's "Max and

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Maurice," 1871 and, "The Tall Student," 1873; Schefer's "World Priest," 1873; Auerbach's "Aloys," "Poet and Merchant," "The Convicts," "Lorley and Reinhard," all in 1877; Rückert's "The Wisdom of the Brahmin," first six books, 1882; Busch's "Plish and Plum," 1883; and Richter's "Invisible Lodge," 1883. Brooks also published several volumes of original poems, one or two volumes of sermons, and two or three works devoted to local history. In 1885 appeared a memoir from the hand of Charles W. Wendt , with a collection of his poems.

Charles T. Brooks exemplified the best qualities of the transcendental movement. He was not a man of original thought; but his idealism gave a charm to his life and to his work, making him tolerant, generous, and high-minded. He was a radical in his sympathies, but deeply spiritual in his religious convictions.

## XXXI

### ERRATA, REPRINTS, ETC.

MARGARET FULLER wrote to Emerson, in regard to the first number of "The Dial," "The errors are most unhappy." In regard to "A Winter Walk" Thoreau wrote to Emerson, "There are some sad mistakes in the printing." The manner in which "The Dial" was edited made it almost inevitable that many errors of the press should occur, and in several of the numbers errata slips were printed. The fact that the editors were not remunerated, and especially that the expenses of the publication had to be reduced to the minimum, made it impossible to secure the careful revision of the press that is desirable.

In his copies of "The Dial," John S. Dwight marked such errors as occurred in the articles contributed by him. In "The Religion of Beauty," page 17, six lines from the bottom, *paints* should be *points*. In the fifth line from the bottom *altogether* should be *all together*. Page 18, last word of second paragraph, *duty* should be *beauty*. Page 20, six lines from the bottom, *makes* should be *wakes*.

Thoreau marked in his set of "The Dial," now owned by Mr. Frank B. Sanborn, all the errors in his poems and articles. These corrections have been made in his published works, but it may be well to note them here. In "Sympathy," second verse, third line, *posts* should be *ports*; fifth verse, first line, *breeze* should be *haze*; third line *workèd* should be *works*; last verse, third line, *dearest* should be *truest*.

In "Aulus Persius Flaccus," page 118, first line of second paragraph, *nature* should be *satire*. Page 119, first Latin

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quotation, *susurros* should be at the end of the first line; in the second quotation, *per* in the last line should be *pes*. Page 120, thirty-first line, *life* should be *lip*; and in the Latin quotation *recretam* should be *secretam*. Bottom of page 406 the "Delta" of "Blackwood's Magazine" was D. M. Moir; vide "Dictionary of National Biography." Volume two, "Friendship" (which is "Friends, Romans, Countrymen and Lovers" in the published works), fourth verse, *God* is changed to *Love*, *him* to *it*, and *our* to *one*. Fifth verse, *Love* has been changed to *It*.

Third volume, in "Natural History of Massachusetts," page 35, third line from top, *April* has been changed to *May*, and in the twenty-second line *moss* has become *lichen*. Page 36, nineteenth line, *may* has been inserted after *but*. In this article references have been made with a pencil to the pages in his "long book" from which Thoreau took the several paragraphs.

In "Rumors from an Æolian Harp," the second line of the third verse,

"And simple truth on every tongue,"

has been changed to

"And poetry is yet unsung."

In "The Summer Rain," third line of the third verse, *greater* has been changed to *juster*. In the translation of "The Prometheus Bound" many minor changes have been made, all of which have been incorporated into the Riverside edition. The same is true of the prose introduction to the translations from the pseudo Anacreon.

In "Dark Ages," page 528, line eighteen, *It* has been changed to *History*, and in the next line, at the end of the sentence, *the modern* has given way to *novelty*.

Volume four, in "A Winter Walk," page 211, twelfth line, the period has been changed to a comma, and the capital to a lower-case *t*. Page 212, line sixteen, after

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*stubble* the period has given way to a semicolon, *while* has been inserted, and *For* has been replaced by *far*. Page 213, third line of prose now reads — *the distant clarion of the cock*, — *through the thin and frosty air*, etc. Sixth line from bottom, *Meanwhile* has been inserted before *We*. Page 216, third line from top, *distinction* has become *distinctions*. Page 217, twenty-fourth line from top *expands* should be *exhales*. Page 219, twenty-third line from top, *on* should be *in*. Page 223, second line from top, *on* should be *in*. Page 225, first line at top, *top* should be *tops*; eighteenth line from bottom, *merry* should be *cheery*; second line from bottom, *cured* should be *cruel*. Page 226, tenth line from top, *of* should be *to*.

In the lecture on "Homer, Ossian and Chaucer" many corrections have been made, and here and there Thoreau has added sentences. Most of these are so far obscured as not to be decipherable readily. Page 290, fifth line, he revised to read, *either rhymed or in some way musical, measured*, etc. Page 291, line twenty-two, reads, *that with respect to the simpler features of nature succeeding poets*, etc. Page 292, eighteenth line from the bottom, *last* should be *east*; seventh line from bottom, *only* should be omitted; third line from bottom, *after* is inserted after *But*. Page 294, ninth line from top, *want not* is replaced by *do not want*. Page 298, eighth line from bottom, *He* is replaced by *It*, and in the next line *him* by *it*. Page 299, sixth line from top *did* is inserted after *Wicliffe*. Page 300, sixth line from top, *He* is replaced by *But Chaucer*; line twenty-two from top, after *expand* is inserted *at last*. Page 301, second line, now reads, *he does not plead his own cause*, etc. Page 302, fifth line, *is* becomes *are*. Page 303, ninth line, *the hearer* is omitted; line nineteen, sentence ends with *obeys*. The sentence about the peasant's cot follows, and *some* begins a new sentence following it; seventh line from bottom, *And* is omitted. Page 304, fifth line from top, *kernel* is changed to *breath*. Page

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305, fourteenth line from top, *but* is omitted, and *he* inserted before *indifferently*.

Some of Thoreau's markings indicate revisions, and not errors. He made use of his "Dial" to indicate how his poems and articles might be improved. The changes made are usually small, but they are sometimes important. Doubtless the other contributors had occasion to revise their articles as did Dwight and Thoreau, and this is why the printed slips of errata were inserted.

The reprinting of "The Dial" has been several times under consideration, but only one serious effort has been made in that direction, previous to the present one. In 1882, Roberts Brothers, of Boston, proposed to reprint the four volumes complete, provided they could secure two hundred subscribers; but as they procured only a small number over one hundred, they did not carry out their plan. The prospectus issued by the firm was as follows:

### A REPRINT OF "THE DIAL."

WE propose to reproduce "The Dial," page for page, without abridgment, and with the addition of an index to the whole work, containing a list of the contributions, with names of the contributors, so far as it is possible to procure them; to which will be appended a full historical account of "The Dial," with anecdotes, incidents or gossip, that will in any manner illustrate the influence of a work which marks an era in American literature. The additional matter, paged separately, will be prepared by George Willis Cooke, author of "Ralph Waldo Emerson, his Life, Writings and Philosophy."

For a long time it has been almost impossible to procure a complete copy of "The Dial," and the demand for it, coming largely from public libraries, has been so constant and growing, that we feel warranted in issuing this proposal to reprint it, so soon as we can be assured of two hundred sub-

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scribers, at fifteen dollars each (to non-subscribers, the price will be twenty dollars). The work will be in four octavo volumes, substantially bound in cloth.

For the convenience of libraries already in possession of the original work, the new index, with additional matter, will be bound separately in pamphlet form and sold for one dollar.

We respectfully solicit your subscription, for which we annex a blank.

ROBERTS BROTHERS,  
Publishers, 299 Washington Street.

Boston, June 1, 1882.

The present writer began in 1881 to collect information about "The Dial," and as Roberts Brothers did not carry out their project of a reprint, his article was published in "The Journal of Speculative Philosophy," edited by Dr. William T. Harris, and appeared in the number for July, 1885, which was not printed until November. The following circular was sent to all who were likely to take an interest in the subject, as well as to those who were thought to possess information :

### TO THE CONTRIBUTORS AND FIRST READERS OF THE DIAL

WHILE writing my recently published book on "Ralph Waldo Emerson : his Life, Writings, and Philosophy," I was led to believe that a fuller historic account of "The Dial," with biographic sketches of those of its contributors who are otherwise unknown to the public, and a complete list, so far as may be, of its writers and their contributions, followed by an index of the whole work, would be of service and interest to those possessing copies of that Magazine and to those interested in the history of the Transcendental movement. So many of the projectors and contributors are yet living, a



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full list of the writers ought to be obtainable; and the historic interest, and literary significance of "The Dial" make it desirable and important that such a list should be published. I shall be glad to receive any information on the subject which any one feels free to communicate, and will in due time give the results to the public. I desire information of the following kinds:—

1. Historic items concerning the starting, management, and influence of "The Dial."

2. Biographic information concerning its contributors, especially those not well known to the public.

3. Anecdotes, incidents, or gossip that will in any manner illustrate its influence or the character of its contributors.

4. The names of the contributors and their articles, (giving volume and page, when possible). It is perhaps needless to say that information under this head should be carefully verified, in order that it may be entirely reliable.

If desired, a printed list of "The Dial" articles will be sent to those who would find it an aid in identifying the contributors.

GEO. WILLIS COOKE.

WEST DEDHAM, Mass., Dec. 1 [1881].

Without egotism, a few of the expressions of approval of the article, as it appeared in "The Journal of Speculative Philosophy," may be inserted here, for the purpose of indicating the interest taken in the preservation of the information it contained.

James Freeman Clarke wrote: "I feel personally much indebted to you for your very valuable and interesting monograph on 'The Dial.' Your patient and persevering study has saved many facts from perishing, which relate to a curious period of literary history. You have given me much information of matters *quorum pars fui*. I trust that

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this essay will be issued in separate form so that we can purchase as many copies as we desire. I should be glad to contribute to the expense of such publication."

John Albee wrote: "I have just been reading your article, and wish to tell you how interesting I found it, and how valuable must be your research to all students of our literature. I hope you will extend and amplify the article into a complete monograph; and it seems to me the material is abundant for that purpose. I consider the transcendental epoch the chief chapter in our literary history hitherto, because of the spirit which animated it, and the influence which we still feel."

George William Curtis wrote: "You are very kind to send me the proof of your article upon 'The Dial,' which I have read with great interest. The index will be very useful."

The names of the authors of all the contributions to "The Dial," excepting four poems, are given in the appended lists. It is by no means certain, however, in all instances, that the names given are the right ones. Where there is any considerable degree of doubt a (?) has been placed after the name, which is given under these circumstances because there is evidence for thinking it the correct one. In regard to the authors of the book notices, literary intelligence, and editor's table, but a few articles can be positively identified as to the authors; and the lists must be accepted as suggestive, for the most part. In regard to the regular articles and poems, very nearly all can be definitely attributed to the authors. In several lists that have been used there is an amount of divergence not very large, and it is much lessened by a careful investigation. The Ann Arbor set of "The Dial" gives the authorship of the poem on page 84 of the first number to Caroline Tappan, but it is undoubtedly Emerson's, as it appears in his published poems, with the title "To Eva." The little poem called "The

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Morning Breeze," on page 135 of the first number, is credited to J. F. Clarke by the Ann Arbor copy, and to Margaret Fuller by that in the Library of Congress. Both the Washington and the Ann Arbor lists attribute "The Poor Rich Man" to Samuel G. Ward, but it is not in the list of his poems furnished the author by Mr. Ward, and it is contained in Mrs. Hooper's portfolio of poems, as privately printed by her family. The "Hymn and Prayer" on page 292 of the first volume is credited to Mrs. Hooper by the Ann Arbor list, but it is printed with Clarke's name in his own compilation, "The Disciples' Hymn Book," and has repeatedly appeared in other collections over his name. There can be no doubt as to the authorship. The article on "Music of the Winter," at the end of the first volume, is attributed to Dwight by the Ann Arbor list, but there is little doubt that Tuckerman was the author. An interview with Dwight and the possession of his own set of "The Dial" makes it certain it was not written by him. The Ann Arbor list also credits Dwight with the article in the first number of the third volume, on "Entertainments of the Past Winter;" but the evidence is wholly in favor of Margaret Fuller as the author. Ellery Channing credited Emerson with the article on "The Art of Life," page 175 of the first volume; but it is unquestionably Hedge's. The article beginning on page 409, on "The Unitarian Movement in New England," Channing credited to George Ripley, but a letter from Professor W. D. Wilson makes it certain that it was his. It is not necessary to give other illustrations, but it may be said that in all instances there is good evidence for the authorship credited to each article and poem in the following lists.

A few of the contributors always signed their articles with an initial; for instance "P." always indicates Theodore Parker. Dwight used a "D.," and Ripley an "R." In the first two volumes "C." indicates C. P. Cranch; but in the last two

## Errata, Reprints, etc.

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volumes Ellery Channing used the same letter, but not uniformly. Margaret Fuller usually signed with an "F.," but not always; and Emerson occasionally used an "E." S. G. Ward signed with a "J.," but not all his contributions are followed by that letter. Sometimes Thoreau used a "T.," but more frequently his full initials. "F. C." indicates James Freeman Clarke and "W." is for W. D. Wilson. Whenever a "Z." appears it stands for Caroline Tappan, but she did not invariably use that signature.

## XXXII

### TITLES AND CONTRIBUTORS

No. I. (Vol. I., No. 1, July, 1840.)

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| 1. The Editors to the Reader.   | R. W. Emerson.        |
| 5. A Short Essay on Critica.  | Margaret Fuller.      |
| 11. To the Aurora Borealis.   | C. P. Cranch.         |
| 13. Notes from the Journal of a Scholar.  | C. C. Emerson.        |
| 17. The Religion of Beauty.   | J. S. Dwight.         |
| 22. [Sweet is the pleasure.]  | J. S. Dwight.         |
| 22. Brownson's Writings.  | George Ripley.        |
| 47. The Last Farewell.  | E. B. Emerson.        |
| 48. Ernest the Seeker. Chapter I.   | W. H. Channing.       |
| 58. The Divine Presence in Nature and in the Soul.  | Theodore Parker.      |
| 71. Sympathy.   | H. D. Thoreau.        |
| 72. Lines.  | Ellen Tucker Emerson. |
| 73. A Record of Impressions produced by the Exhibition of Allston's Pictures in the Summer of 1839. | Margaret Fuller.      |
| 83. To W. Allston on seeing his "Bride."  | S. G. Ward.           |
| 84. To Allston's Picture, "The Bride."  | Margaret Fuller.      |
| 84. Song.   | S. G. Ward.           |
| 84. To . . . . [To Eva.]  | R. W. Emerson.        |
| 85. Orphic Sayings.   | A. Bronson Alcott.    |
| 98. Stanzas. [Gnosis.]  | C. P. Cranch.         |
| 99. Channing's Translation of Jouflroy.   | W. D. Wilson.         |
| 117. Aulus Persius Flaccus.   | H. D. Thoreau.        |
| 121. The Shield.  | S. G. Ward.           |

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| 122. The Problem.  | R. W. Emerson.   |
| 123. Come Morir?   | S. G. Ward.      |
| 123. [I slept and dreamed that life<br>was Beauty.]                | Ellen Hooper.    |
| 124. The Concerts of the Past Winter.                              | J. S. Dwight.    |
| 134. A Dialogue.   | Margaret Fuller. |
| 135. Richter.  | Margaret Fuller. |
| 135. Some murmur at the "want of<br>system" in Richter's writings. | Margaret Fuller. |
| 135. The Morning Breeze.   | Margaret Fuller. |
| 136. Dante.  | Sarah Clarke.    |
| 136. A Sketch. [I.]  | Margaret Fuller. |
| 136. A Sketch. [II.]   | Margaret Fuller. |
| 136. [Did you never admire anything?]                              | Margaret Fuller. |

### No. II. (Vol. I., No. 2, October, 1840.)

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| 137. Thoughts on Modern Literature.                              | R. W. Emerson.       |
| 158. Silence. [Eros.]  | R. W. Emerson.       |
| 159. First Crossing the Alleghanies.                             | J. F. Clarke.        |
| 161. A Sign from the West.                                       | C. P. Cranch.        |
| 172. Angelica Sleeps.—Berni. [Trans-<br>lated.]                  | Margaret Fuller (?). |
| 173. Nature and Art, or the Three<br>Landscapes. Gaspar Poussin. | J. F. Clarke.        |
| Domenichino.   | J. F. Clarke.        |
| Allston's Italian Landscape.                                     | J. F. Clarke.        |
| 175. The Art of Life the Scholar's<br>Calling.                   | F. H. Hedge.         |
| 183. Letter to a Theological Student.                            | George Ripley.       |
| 187. "The Poor Rich Man."  | Ellen Hooper.        |
| 187. [Why askest thou?]  | W. E. Channing.      |
| 188. Musings of a Recluse.                                       | C. P. Cranch.        |
| 193. The Wood-Fire.  | Ellen Hooper.        |
| 193. The Day Breaks.   | Caroline Tappan.     |
| 194. The Poet.   | Ellen Hooper.        |
| 195. Life.   | Caroline Tappan.     |
| 195. Evening.  | Caroline Tappan.     |

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196. A Lesson for the Day.	Theodore Parker.
216. Wayfarers.	Ellen Hooper.
216. From Goethe.	Caroline Tappan.
217. Pæan.	Caroline Tappan.
217. Lyric.	Caroline Tappan.
218. Truth Against the World.	Theodore Parker.
219. Waves.	Caroline Tappan.
219. [On the surface by the waves.]	Caroline Tappan.
220. New Poetry. [Poems by W. E. Channing.]	R. W. Emerson.
232. Art and Artist.	Caroline Tappan.
233. Ernest the Seeker. Chapter II.	W. H. Channing.
242. Woodnotes.	R. W. Emerson.
245. Life and Death.	Caroline Tappan.
246. Record of the Months.	
246. The Works of William E. Channing, D. D.	George Ripley.
248. Two Sermons by G. F. Simmons.	George Ripley.
251. A Letter to those who think.	George Ripley.
256. Professor Walker's Vindication of Philosophy.	George Ripley.
260. The Athenæum Exhibition of Painting and Sculpture.	Margaret Fuller.
263. The Dream.	Caroline Tappan.
264. Dana's "Two Years before the Mast."	R. W. Emerson.
265. Fourier's "Social Destiny of Man."	R. W. Emerson.
266. Ranke's "History of the Popes."	Theodore Parker.
267. Harwood's "Materialism in Religion."	George Ripley.
271. Cousin's "Œuvres complètes de Platon."	George Ripley.

### No. III. (Vol. I., No. 3, January, 1841.)

273. Man in the Ages.	Thomas T. Stone.
289. Afternoon.	Caroline Tappan.

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290. Questionings.	F. H. Hedge.
291. Endymion.	C. P. Cranch.
292. Hymn and Prayer.	J. F. Clarke.
293. Meta.	Margaret Fuller.
298. The True in Dreams.	C. P. Cranch.
299. The Magnolia of Lake Pontchar- train.	Margaret Fuller.
305. Love and Insight.	Caroline Tappan.
305. Sunset.	Caroline Tappan.
306. Give Us an Interpreter.	Caroline Tappan.
306. [Birds shooting swiftly through air and light.]	Caroline Tappan.
307. Ideals of Every-Day Life. No I.	J. S. Dwight.
312. To Nydia.	J. F. Clarke.
314. The Violet.	Ellen Tucker Emerson.
314. Stanzas.	H. D. Thoreau.
315. German Literature	Theodore Parker.
339. The Snow-Storm.	R. W. Emerson.
340. Menzel's View of Goethe.	Margaret Fuller.
347. Suum Cuique.	R. W. Emerson.
348. The Sphinx.	R. W. Emerson.
351. Orphic Sayings.	A. Bronson Alcott.
362. Woman.	Sophia Ripley.
366. Sonnet. To a Voice heard in Mount Auburn, July, 1839.	J. R. Lowell.
367. Thoughts on Art.	R. W. Emerson.
379. Glimmerings.	C. P. Cranch.
381. Correspondences.	C. P. Cranch.
381. Color and Light.	C. P. Cranch.
382. My Thoughts.	C. P. Cranch.
383. The Riddle.	C. P. Cranch.
384. The Ocean.	C. P. Cranch.
386. Letters from Italy on the Repre- sentatives of Italy.	S. G. Ward.
400. To the Ideal.	Ellen Hooper.
401. Record of the Months.	



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401. Michael Angelo considered as a  
Philosophic Poet. R. W. Emerson.  
402. Robbins's "Worship of the Soul." R. W. Emerson.  
404. Rodman's "Voice from the Prison." Margaret Fuller.  
405. Hawthorne's "Grandfather's  
Chair." Margaret Fuller.

### No. IV. (Vol. I., No. 4, April, 1841.)

409. The Unitarian Movement in  
New England. W. D. Wilson.  
443. Dream. J. F. Clarke.  
446. Ideals of Every-Day Life. No. II.  
Home. J. S. Dwight.  
461. Listen to the Wind. Caroline Tappan.  
461. The Wind Again. Caroline Tappan.  
462. Leila. Margaret Fuller.  
468. Poems on Art.  
The Genuine Portrait. J. F. Clarke.  
The Real and the Ideal. J. F. Clarke.  
469. Hermitage. W. E. Channing.  
469. The Angel and the Artist. Caroline Tappan.  
470. Shelley. John M. Mackie.  
494. A Dialogue. Poet, Critic. Margaret Fuller.  
497. Thoughts on Labor. Theodore Parker.  
519. The Out-Bid. Ellen Hooper.  
520. Theme for a World-Drama. W. E. Channing.  
523. Man the Reformer. R. W. Emerson.  
539. Music of the Winter. J. F. Tuckerman.  
544. Farewell. Ellen Hooper.

### No. V. (Vol. II., No. 1, July, 1841.)

1. Goethe. Margaret Fuller.  
42. Two Hymns. Eliza T. Clapp.  
45. Night and Day. W. H. Channing.  
47. The Blind Seer. C. P. Cranch.  
48. Wheat Seed and Bolted Flour. W. H. Channing.  
52. Song. W. E. Channing (?).

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53. Need of a Diver.	W. H. Channing.
55. Clouds.	Eliza T. Clapp.
57. "The Future is better than the Past."	Eliza T. Clapp.
58. August Shower.	Eliza T. Clapp.
59. The Pharisees.	Theodore Parker.
77. Protean Wishes.	Theodore Parker.
78. Painting and Sculpture.	Sophia Ripley.
81. Sic Vita.	H. D. Thoreau.
82. Bettina!	Caroline Tappan.
83. Prophecy — Transcendentalism — Progress.	J. A. Saxton.
121. Sonnet to —	W. E. Channing.
122. Letter.	Sophia Ripley.
129. Lines.	Caroline Tappan.
129. Sonnet. "To die is gain."	J. R. Lowell.
130. Notices of Recent Publications.	
130. Jones Very's "Essays and Poems."	R. W. Emerson.
131. Carlyle's "On Heroes."	Margaret Fuller.
133. Lowell's "A Year's Life."	Margaret Fuller.
134. Goethe's "Faust."	Margaret Fuller.
134. H. Martineau's "Hour and the Man."	Margaret Fuller.
135. Tennyson, Stirling, Festus.	Margaret Fuller.
135. The Plain Speaker.	Margaret Fuller.
136. Lines.	Sara A. Chase.
136. To Contributors.	Margaret Fuller.
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137. Cupid's Conflict. [Selected by A. B. Alcott.]	Dr. Henry More.
148. Lives of the Great Composers, Haydn, Mozart, Handel, Bach, Beethoven.	Margaret Fuller.
203. Light and Shade.	Caroline Tappan.
204. Friendship.	H. D. Thoreau.
205. Painting and Sculpture.	R. W. Emerson.

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205. Fate.	R. W. Emerson.
207. Woodnotes. Number II.	R. W. Emerson.
214. A Glimpse of Christ's Idea of Society.	Elizabeth P. Peabody.
228. Poems on Life.	
230. Windmill.	Caroline Tappan.
231. Festus.	Margaret Fuller.
262. Walter Savage Landor.	R. W. Emerson.
271. Inworld.	C. P. Cranch.

### No. VII. (Vol. II., No. 3, January, 1842.)

273. First Principles.	William B. Greene.
286. [Poetical Motto.]	W. E. Channing.
286. Yuca Filamentosa.	Margaret Fuller.
288. Inworld. [Repeated.]	C. P. Cranch.
290. Outworld.	C. P. Cranch.
292. Primitive Christianity.	Theodore Parker.
313. Bettine Brentano and her Friend Günderode.	Margaret Fuller.
357. Sonnet. April, 1819.	J. R. Lowell.
357. Sonnet.	J. R. Lowell.
358. Sonnet. To Irene on her Birthday.	J. R. Lowell.
358. The Hour of Reckoning.	Ellen Hooper.
359. Sonnet. To Mary on her Birthday.	B. F. Presbury.
359. De Profundis Clamavi.	
360. Music. To Martha.	B. F. Presbury.
361. Plan of the West Roxbury Com- munity.	Elizabeth P. Peabody.
373. The Park.	R. W. Emerson.
373. Forbearance.	R. W. Emerson.
373. Grace.	R. W. Emerson.
374. The Senses and the Soul.	R. W. Emerson.
380. Epilogue to the Tragedy of Essex. From the German of Goethe.	Margaret Fuller.
382. Editor's Table.	
382. Transcendentalism.	R. W. Emerson.
382. [Calvinist's Letter.]	Thomas T. Stone.

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### 385. Notices of Recent Publications.

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| 385. Plan of Salvation.                    | J. F. Clarke.    |
| 393. Motherwell's Poems.                   | Margaret Fuller. |
| 394. Goethe's "Egmont."                    | Margaret Fuller. |
| 395. Monaldi, A Tale.                      | Margaret Fuller. |
| 399. Wilde's "Conjectures and Researches." | Margaret Fuller. |
| 407. Boston Academy of Music.              | Margaret Fuller. |
| 408. Theory of Teaching.                   | Margaret Fuller. |
| 409. "The Ideal Man."                      | R. W. Emerson.   |

### Number VIII. (Vol. II., No. 4, April, 1842.)

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| 409. To the Editor of The Dial.                        | A. Bronson Alcott. |
| 409. Days from a Diary.                                | A. Bronson Alcott. |
| 437. Marie Van Oosterwich. Translated from the French. | Margaret Fuller.   |
| 483. Silence and Speech.                               | C. P. Cranch.      |
| 485. Thoughts on Theology.                             | Theodore Parker.   |
| 528. Herzliebste.                                      | Charles A. Dana.   |
| 529. Record of the Months.                             |                    |
| 529. Whewell's "Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences." | Theodore Parker.   |
| 530. Whewell's "Foundation of Morals."                 | Theodore Parker.   |
| 531. Mosheim's "Ecclesiastical History.                | Theodore Parker.   |
| 535. Harwood's "German Anti-Supernaturalism."          | Theodore Parker.   |
| 539. Republications.                                   | Theodore Parker.   |
| 540. Milman's "History of Christianity."               | Theodore Parker.   |
| 542. Milman's Gibbon's "Decline and Fall."             | Theodore Parker.   |

### No. IX. (Vol. III., No. 1, July, 1842.)

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| 1. Introductory Lecture on the Times. | R. W. Emerson. |
| 19. Natural History of Massachusetts. | H. D. Thoreau. |

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40. Gita.	W. E. Channing.
41. The Lover's Song.	W. E. Channing.
41. Sea Song.	W. E. Channing.
42. The Earth-Spirit.	W. E. Channing.
42. Prayer.	W. E. Channing.
43. After-Life.	W. E. Channing.
44. Autumn Leaves.	Eliza T. Clapp.
46. Entertainments of the Past Winter.	Margaret Fuller.
72. Tact.	R. W. Emerson.
73. Holidays.	R. W. Emerson.
73. The Amulet.	R. W. Emerson.
74. The Castle by the Sea. From Uhland.	F. H. Hedge.
75. Eternity.	Charles A. Dana.
76. Vespers.	
77. Prayers.	R. W. Emerson.
79. [Metrical Prayer.]	H. D. Thoreau.
80. [Prayer.]	Junius Alcott.
81. To Shakspeare.	W. E. Channing.
82. Veeshnoo Sarma.	R. W. Emerson.
85. [I asked the Angels to come to me.]	
86. Fourierism and the Socialists.	R. W. Emerson.
97. The Evening Choir.	Jones Very.
99. The World.	Jones Very.
100. Chardon Street and Bible Con- ventions.	R. W. Emerson.
103. Remarks.	Nathaniel H. Whiting.
112. The Two Dolons.	C. K. Newcomb.
123. Agriculture of Massachusetts.	R. W. Emerson.
126. Outward Bound.	Caroline Tappan.
127. Record of the Months.	
127. Borrow's "Zincali."	R. W. Emerson.
128. Lockhart's "Ancient Spanish Bal- lads."	R. W. Emerson.
129. Colton's "Tecumseh."	R. W. Emerson.
130. Hawthorne's "Twice-Told Tales."	Margaret Fuller.

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| 131. Hawthorne's "Stories for Children."          | Margaret Fuller.   |
| 131. The Cambridge Miscellany.                    | R. W. Emerson (†). |
| 131. [Short notices.]                             | R. W. Emerson (†). |
| 132. Intelligence.                                |                    |
| 132. Wilkes Exploring Expedition.                 | R. W. Emerson.     |
| 133. Association of State Geologists.             | R. W. Emerson.     |
| 133. Harvard University.                          | R. W. Emerson.     |
| 135. [Wordworth's New Poems.]                     | R. W. Emerson.     |
| 135. [Tennyson and Henry Taylor.]                 | R. W. Emerson.     |
| 136. Schelling in Berlin.                         | R. W. Emerson.     |
| 136. New Jerusalem Church.                        | R. W. Emerson (†). |
| <br>No. X. (Vol. III., No. 2, October, 1842.)     |                    |
| 137. Romaic and Rhine Ballads.                    | Margaret Fuller.   |
| 180. The Black Knight.                            | H. D. Thoreau.     |
| 181. Lectures on the Times. II. The Conservative. | R. W. Emerson.     |
| 198. The Inward Morning.                          | H. D. Thoreau.     |
| 199. Free Love.                                   | H. D. Thoreau.     |
| 200. The Poet's Delay.                            | H. D. Thoreau.     |
| 200. Rumors from an Æolian Harp.                  | H. D. Thoreau.     |
| 201. Hollis Street Council.                       | Theodore Parker.   |
| 222. The Moon.                                    | H. D. Thoreau.     |
| 222. To the Maiden in the East.                   | H. D. Thoreau.     |
| 224. The Summer Rain.                             | H. D. Thoreau.     |
| 225. The Artist.                                  | C. P. Cranch.      |
| 227. English Reformers.                           | R. W. Emerson.     |
| 247. James Pierrepont Greaves.                    | Charles Lane.      |
| 256. Dirge.                                       | W. E. Channing.    |
| 258. Cromwell.                                    | Charles Lane.      |
| 264. The Poet.                                    | W. E. Channing.    |
| 265. Lines.                                       | Ellen Cooper (†).  |
| 265. Saadi.                                       | R. W. Emerson.     |
| 269. The Gallery.                                 | Samuel G. Ward.    |
| 273. Record of the Months.                        |                    |
| 273. Tennyson's Poems.                            | R. W. Emerson.     |

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| 276. A Letter to Wm. E. Channing, D. D.                        | R. W. Emerson.      |
| 277. Smyth's "Lectures on Modern History."                     |                     |
| 278. Editor's Table.   | R. W. Emerson.      |
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| 281. James Pierrepont Greaves. [Continued.]                    | Charles Lane.       |
| 297. Lectures on the Times. III.<br>The Transcendentalist.     | R. W. Emerson.      |
| 313. A Song of Spring.   | W. E. Channing.     |
| 314. Discoveries in the Nubian Pyramids. [Translated.]         | Elizabeth Hoar.     |
| 326. Anna.   | W. E. Channing.     |
| 327. To Eva [Ellen] at the South.                              | R. W. Emerson.      |
| 328. The Brook.  | Caroline Tappan.    |
| 329. The River.  | W. E. Channing.     |
| 329. Life.   | W. E. Channing.     |
| 330. To . . . .  | W. E. Channing.     |
| 331. The Laws of Menu. [Selected.]                             | H. D. Thoreau.      |
| 340. Death.  | W. E. Channing.     |
| 343. The Life and Character of Dr. Follen.                     | Theodore Parker.    |
| 363. The Prometheus Bound. [Translated.]                       | H. D. Thoreau.      |
| 387. Literary Intelligence.                                    |                     |
| 387. [Death of Dr. Channing.]                                  | R. W. Emerson.      |
| 388. [Letters from Heidelberg.]                                | Charles S. Wheeler. |
| 398. Schelling's Introductory Lecture in Berlin. [Translated.] | F. H. Hedge.        |
| 404. Record of the Months.                                     |                     |
| 404. Life of Jean Paul Richter.                                | R. W. Emerson (†).  |
| 406. An Essay on Transcendentalism.                            | Charles Lane.       |
| 411. Letters of Schiller.                                      | R. W. Emerson (†).  |
| 413. Fables of La Fontaine.                                    | R. W. Emerson (†).  |

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| 414. Confessions of St. Augustine. | R. W. Emerson.     |
| 416. [English books.]              | R. W. Emerson (?). |
| 416. Goethe and Swedenborg.        | R. W. Emerson (?). |

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| 417. A. Bronson Alcott's Works.                             | Charles Lane.        |
| 454. Canova.  | Margaret Fuller.     |
| 484. Anacreon. [With translations.]                         | H. D. Thoreau.       |
| 490. What is Beauty?  | L. M. Child.         |
| 493. Ethnical Scriptures. Sayings of Confucius. [Selected.] | H. D. Thoreau.       |
| 495. George Keats.  | J. F. Clarke.        |
| 500. Remarks on John Milton, by John Keats.                 |                      |
| 505. To a Stray Fowl.                                       | H. D. Thoreau.       |
| 505. Orphics. I. Smoke. II. Haze.                           | H. D. Thoreau.       |
| 506. Sonnets. I. II.  | W. E. Channing (?).  |
| 507. To . . . .   | W. E. Channing.      |
| 508. To —   | W. E. Channing.      |
| 509. The Friends.   | W. E. Channing.      |
| 511. Europe and European Books.                             | R. W. Emerson.       |
| 522. A Leaf from "A Voyage to Porto Rico."                  | C. C. Emerson.       |
| 527. Dark Ages.   | H. D. Thoreau.       |
| 529. Friendship. [From Chaucer's "Romaunt of the Rose."]    | R. W. Emerson (?).   |
| 532. Record of the Months.                                  |                      |
| 532. Bremer's "Neighbors."                                  | R. W. Emerson (?).   |
| 532. Bulwer's "Last of the Barons."                         | R. W. Emerson (?).   |
| 533. Fetis' "Music Explained."                              | Margaret Fuller (?). |
| 534. Borrow's "Bible in Spain."                             | R. W. Emerson.       |
| 535. Paracelsus.  | R. W. Emerson.       |
| 535. Zschokke's "Sleep Waker."                              | R. W. Emerson (?).   |
| 536. Heraud's "Life and Times of Savonarola."               | Charles Lane.        |
| 541. [Letter from Heidelberg.]                              | Charles S. Wheeler.  |
| 545. Catalogue of Books.                                    | A. Bronson Alcott.   |



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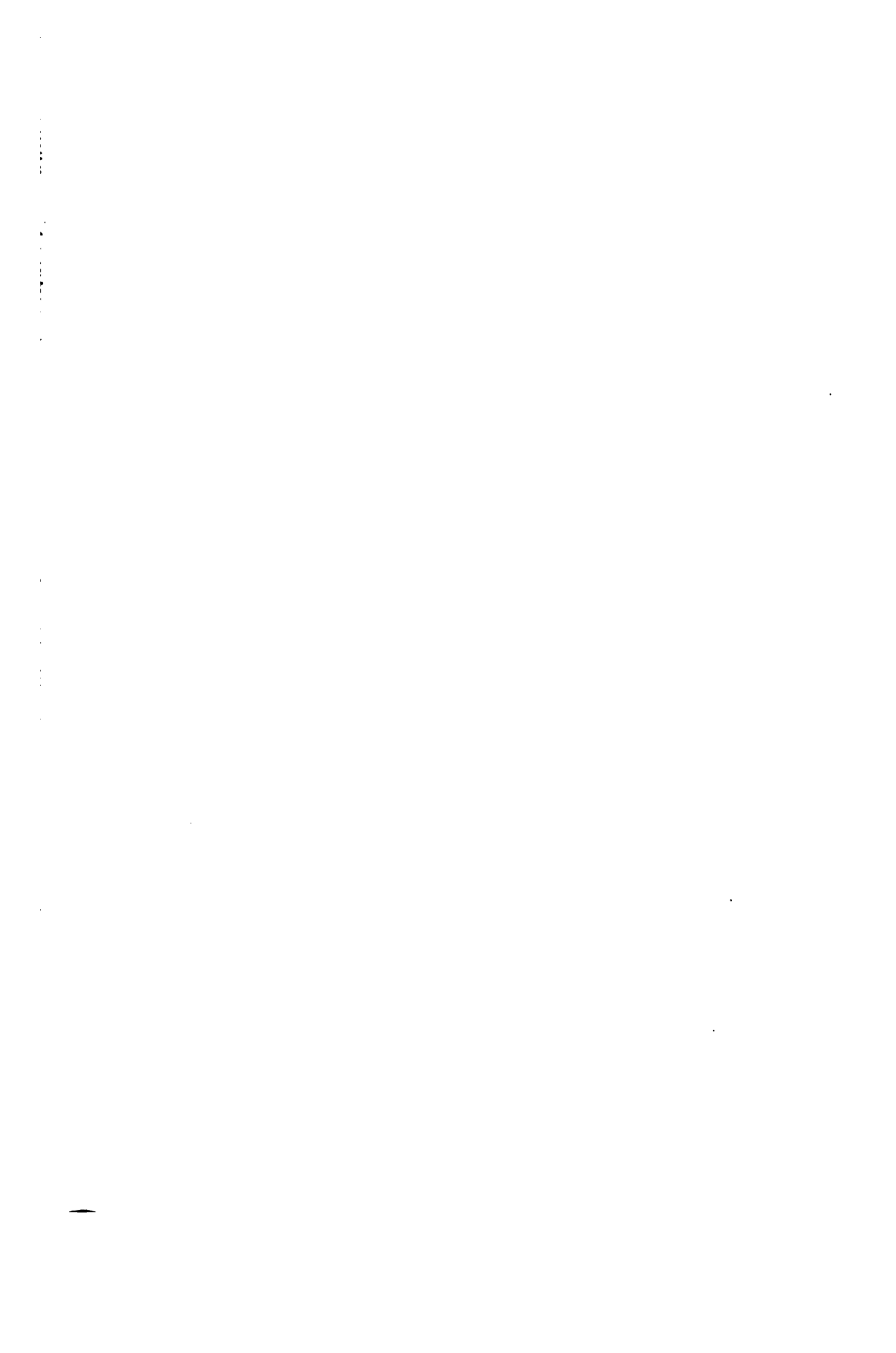
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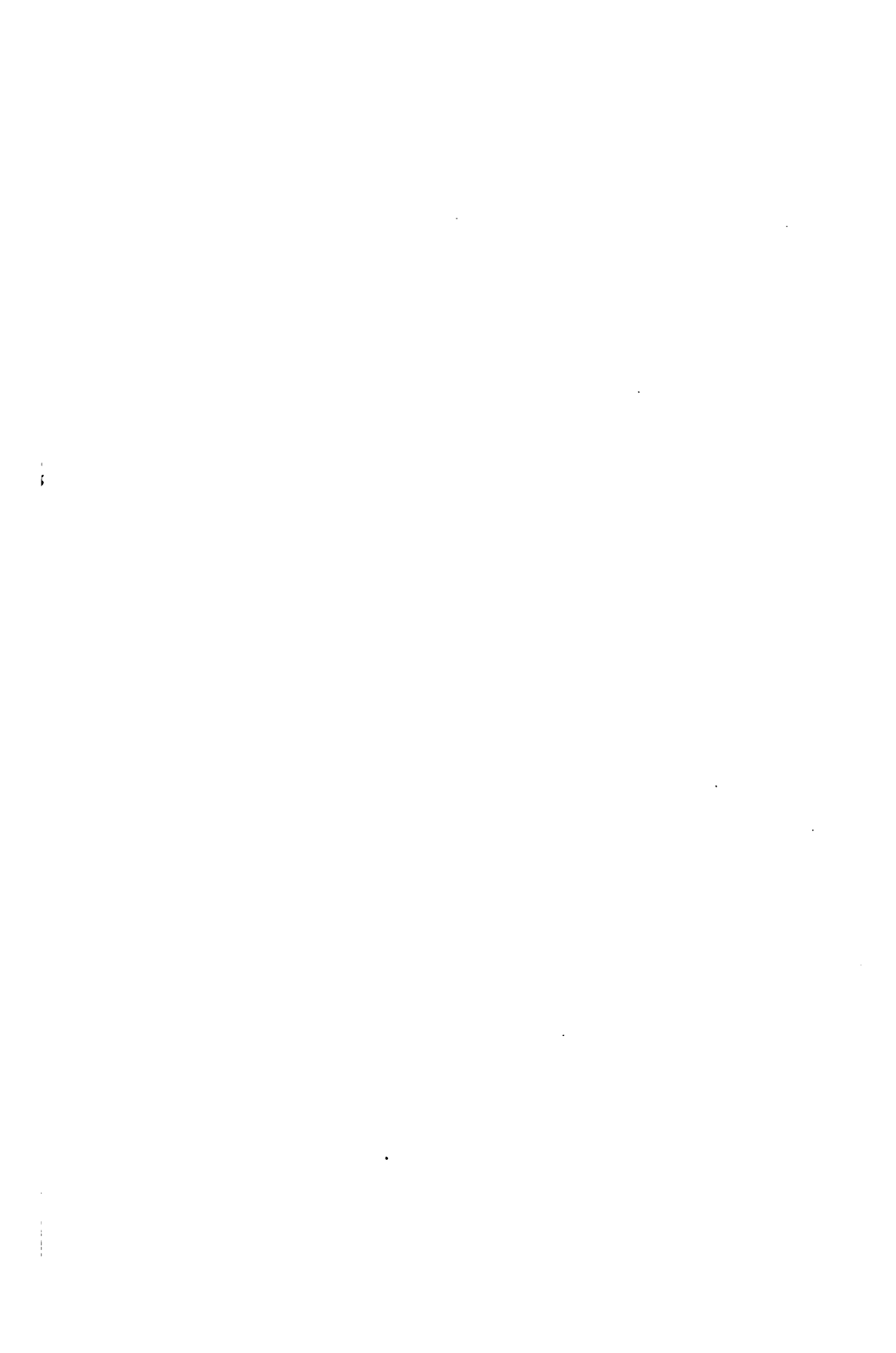


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